EXHIBIT 15

Declaration of Dr. Matt A. Barreto and Michael Rios, MPP

1. Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. section 1746, I, Matt Barreto, and my co-author, Michael Rios, declare as follows:

2. My name is Matt Barreto, and I am currently Professor of Political Science and Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. I was appointed Full Professor with tenure at UCLA in 2015. Prior to that I was a tenured professor of Political Science at the University of Washington from 2005 to 2014. At UCLA I am the faculty director of the Voting Rights Project in the Luskin School of Public Affairs and I teach a year-long course on the Voting Rights Act (VRA), focusing specifically on social science statistical analysis, demographics and voting patterns, and mapping analysis that are relevant in political science expert reports in VRA cases. I have written expert reports and been qualified as an expert witness more than four dozen times in federal and state voting rights and civil rights cases, including many times in the state of Texas. I have published peer-reviewed social science articles specifically about minority voting patterns, racially polarized voting, and have co-authored a software package (eiCompare) specifically for use in understanding racial voting patterns in VRA cases. I have been retained as an expert consultant by counties across the state of Texas to advise them on racial voting patterns as they relate to VRA compliance during redistricting. As an expert witness in VRA lawsuits, I have testified dozens of times and my testimony has been relied on by courts to find in favor of both plaintiffs and defendants.

3. I have published books and articles specifically about the intersection of partisanship, ideology and racially polarized voting. My 2013 book, *Change They Can't Believe In* was published by Princeton University Press and was about the inherent connectedness between partisanship and racial attitudes in America today, and won the American Political Science Association award for best book on the topic of racial and ethnic politics.

4. I submitted an expert report in Galveston County, Texas in the 2013 lawsuit, *Petteway v. Galveston,* No. 3:11-cv-308. In that report I examined voting and population demographic trends and concluded that Black and Hispanic voters were cohesive and supported like candidates of choice, and that Anglos block-voted against minority candidates of choice. The court accepted that racially polarized voting was prevalent in Galveston County, Texas.

5. I am the primary author of this report and collaborated in its development with my co-author Mr. Michael Rios, MPP, senior data scientist at the UCLA Voting Rights Project. I have worked closely with Mr. Rios for over four years and he has extensive expertise with racially polarized voting analysis in the state of Texas, including authoring a report on racially polarized voting in Galveston County in 2021 and recently performing a racially polarized voting analysis in *Portugal et al. v. Franklin County et al.* (October 2020), a lawsuit involving the Washington Voting Rights Act.

6. My full professional qualifications and activities are set forth in my curriculum vitae. A true and correct copy has been attached hereto as Appendix E1. I, Dr. Barreto, am being compensated by Plaintiffs at a rate of $400 per hour for my report and $500 an hour for any oral testimony in this case. Mr. Rios is being compensated by Plaintiffs at a rate of $275 an

hour for his work on the report and $350 per hour for any oral testimony in this case. A true and correct copy of Mr. Rios' qualifications and activities are set forth in his curriculum vitae, of which a true and correct copy has been attached hereto as Appendix E2.

7. In this portion of my expert analysis, we were asked to assess voting patterns in Galveston County to determine if Black, Hispanic[1] and Anglo voters exhibit racially polarized voting.

8. We also reviewed the existing Galveston County Commission Precinct Plan to determine what impact the 2021 adopted plan had on Black and Hispanic opportunities to elect candidates of choice. As part of this analysis, we reviewed alternative maps submitted by Plaintiffs Terry Petteway, Derreck Rose, Michael Montez, Penny Pope and Sonny James that would allow minority voters to create and/or maintain opportunities to elect candidates of choice.

9. We obtained data from the Texas Legislative Council (TLC) and the Capitol Data Project for statewide election results by county and voter demographics by county. We also obtained data from the Galveston County, Texas recorder-clerk of elections including election results. We obtained district map data by performing a spatial overlay of CVAP data with a map of 2022 VTDs. CVAP estimates are from the U.S. Census ACS disaggregated to census blocks, downloaded from the Redistricting Data Hub.[2] The map of 2022 VTDs was downloaded from the TLC website.[3] All data are available at the voting tabulation district or voting precinct (VTD) level and we have merged together the election returns with voter racial/ethnic demographics to create a standard dataset for analyzing voting patterns. Race and population data were obtained from the U.S. Census 2020 PL-94 Redistricting files, U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS) datasets, as well as Spanish Surname Registered Voters and Spanish Surname Turnout, which was obtained from TLC repository.

I.   Background Conclusions

10. First, more than 25 elections analyzed from 2014 to 2022 reveal a strong and consistent pattern of racially polarized voting in Galveston County. This analysis was conducted across 29 elections for local, state and federal office, using two complimentary court-approved ecological inference techniques, and relying on Census citizen voting age population (CVAP) data, Spanish Surname voter file data, and voter turnout modeled data. The result was more than 350 ecological inference models. In every single instance both Black and Hispanic voters were found to be strongly cohesive in their support for minority preferred candidates. When analyzing Black and Hispanic voters independently or combined, Black voters are strongly cohesive, and vote consistently with Hispanic voters who are likewise cohesive and vote consistently with Black voters. The analysis reports Anglo voters uniformly block vote against Hispanic and Black candidates of choice in Galveston County. There is no question that both

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[1] We utilize the terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" interchangeably throughout this report to refer to individuals who self-identify as Latino or Hispanic. Additionally, the terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" mean persons of Hispanic Origin as defined by the United States Census Bureau and U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB).

[2] "Texas CVAP Data Disaggregated to the 2020 Block Level (2020)," Redistricting Data Hub, April 21, 2022, https://redistrictingdatahub.org/dataset/texas-cvap-data-disaggregated-to-the-2020-block-level-2020/.

[3] "VTDs," Capitol Data Portal, August 18, 2022, https://data.capitol.texas.gov/dataset/vtds.

Gingles prongs – prong two of minority cohesiveness and prong three related to Anglo bloc voting, are easily met in Galveston County.

11. Second, Galveston County racial and ethnic population demographics changed significantly over the last decade with Anglos declining from 59.3% of the county population in 2010 to 54.6% in 2020. While the Anglo population grew by just 10.8% or 18,706, the non-Anglo (racial minority) population in Galveston grew by 34.3% or 40,667 in just 10 years. The Hispanic population was the fastest growing in the county and increased by 23,366 (35.8%).

12. Third, the map adopted by the Galveston County Commission dilutes the Black and Hispanic vote by eliminating a currently performing district which elects a Hispanic and Black candidate of choice. Given the large increases in the minority populations, and the conclusive finding of racially polarized voting, the adopted map could have easily drawn a performing district for minority voters consistent with the VRA The adopted map failed to reflect growth in both Hispanic and African-American communities and dilutes the ability of both groups to elect candidates of choice.

II. Galveston County Population Growth and Enacted Map Characteristics

13. To situate the discussion over voting patterns and minority representation, we begin with a broader view of Galveston County and how its population has changed and shifted over the past two decades. Overall, Galveston gained over 100,000 in population since 2000 with 59,373 coming in between 2010-2020. However, these gains were uneven by geography and race/ethnicity. Specifically, the Anglo/White population experienced an 8.5-point drop in population share from 2000 to 2020 going from 63.1% of the county population to now just 54.6%. According to the 2021 U.S. Census American Community Survey (ACS) the Anglo population in Galveston has declined by an additional percentage point and is now 53.7% as of 2021. In contrast, the Latino population almost doubled in 20 years, growing from 44,939 to 88,636. In the past 10 years the Latino population was the fastest growing segment of Galveston, adding more than 23,000 in population and now represents 25.3% of the county total. Overall, the non-Anglo racial minority population grew by 72.6% in the past two decades, compared to 21.2% growth among Anglos. There is no question that Galveston County demographics are changing and becoming increasing non-Anglo, racial minority. Today, the county population is close to evenly divided between Anglos and non-Anglo racial minorities and by 2025 Galveston is projected to be a majority-minority population county. A districting scheme must take into account population shifts and draw boundaries around communities of interest, careful not to overly pack or crack minority communities.

14. From a population growth perspective, the 67,017 increase in minority residents should have made the retention of an existing minority-performing district simple. In fact, because the county became *more heavily* minority, a map drawer would have to go out of their way to reduce and dilute the minority vote. A map put forward by Commissioner Holmes in 2021 allowed for a VRA-compliant district to be drawn in Galveston that would allow minorities the opportunity to elect their candidates of choice. Rather than maintaining a minority-performing district, the adopted plan cracks the Black and Hispanic population so that it is narrowly too small to be able to elect a candidate of choice.

15. According to the 2020 Decennial Census, there is no question that the *Gingles One* standard can be met and a performing district can be drawn that is majority Black and Hispanic citizen adult.

Table 1: Galveston County Population Change 2000 to 2020 by race/ethnicity

	2000	2010	2020	00-20 Change	00-20 % chg	10-20 Change	10-20 % chg
Galveston Total	250,158	291,309	350,682	100,524	40.2%	59,373	20.4%
Anglo	157,851 (63.1%)	172,652 (59.3%)	191,358 (54.6%)	33,507	21.2%	18,706	10.8%
Non-Anglo (Racial Minority)	92,307 (36.9%)	118,657 (40.7%)	159,324 (45.4%)	67,017	72.6%	40,667	34.3%
Hispanic	44,939 (17.9%)	65,270 (22.4%)	88,636 (25.3%)	43,697	97.2%	23,366	35.8%
Black	38,179 (15.3%)	39,229 (13.5%)	43,120 (12.3%)	4,941	12.9%	3,891	9.9%
Asian	5,152 (2.1%)	8,515 (2.9%)	12,202 (3.5%)	7,050	136.8%	3,687	43.3%
All other/ multi-racial	4,037 (1.6%)	5,643 (1.9%)	15,366 (4.4%)	11,329	280.6%	9,723	172.3%

III.   Racially Polarized Voting Analysis

16. We next examine whether voters of different racial/ethnic backgrounds tend to prefer different or similar candidates in a wide range of electoral settings. The phenomenon called *racially polarized voting* (RPV) is defined as voters of different racial or ethnic groups exhibiting different candidate preferences in an election. It means simply that voters of different groups are voting in polar opposite directions, rather than in a coalition. However, if some groups of voters are voting in coalition, RPV analysis will identify such a trend. Voters may vote for their candidates of choice for a variety of reasons, and RPV analysis is agnostic as to why voters make decisions, instead RPV simply reports *how* voters are voting. It measures the outcomes of voting patterns and determines whether patterns track with the race/ethnicity demographics of neighborhoods, cities, and voting precincts.

17. Issues related to minority vote dilution are especially consequential in the face of racially polarized voting. In 1986 the Supreme Court issued a unanimous ruling (*Thornburg v. Gingles*) that redistricting plans cannot dilute minority voting strength by cracking their population into multiple districts, nor can they pack the population into too few districts. In

this decision, the Court established specific tests to determine if a redistricting plan violated the VRA, in particular calling on a statistical analysis of voting patterns by race and ethnicity. The *Gingles* test concerns how minorities and Anglos vote, and whether they prefer the same, or different candidates. Specifically, the Court asks if minority voters are cohesive (*Gingles Prong Two*); if they generally tend to vote for a "candidate of choice." And next, the Court examines who the larger majority (or Anglo) voters prefer as their candidate and, if that candidate is different than the minority candidate of choice, whether they regularly vote as a bloc to defeat the minority candidate of choice (*Gingles Prong Three*). Evidence of voting patterns differing by the race of voters was called "racially polarized voting" by the courts, to simply describe a finding in which voters of one racial group were voting in one direction, but voters of the other racial group were voting in the opposite direction – their patterns are polarized.

18. Several methods are available to assess the *Gingles* preconditions of minority cohesion and Anglo bloc voting.[4] Ecological Inference (EI) "has been the benchmark in evaluating racial polarization in voting rights lawsuits and has been used widely in comparative politics research on group and ethnic voting patterns."[5] Two variations of EI that have emerged are referred to as King's EI and EI: RxC. The two methods are closely related, and Professor Gary King, the creator of King's EI,[6] was a co-author and collaborator on the RxC method.[7] Generally speaking, both methods take ecological data in the aggregate—such as precinct vote totals and racial demographics—and use Bayesian statistical methods to find voting patterns by regressing candidate choice against racial demographics within the aggregate precinct. Kings EI is sometimes referred to as the iterative approach, in that it runs an analysis of each candidate and each racial group in iterations, whereas the RxC method allows multiple rows (candidates) and multiple columns (racial groups) to be estimated simultaneously in one model. In essence, both versions of EI operate as described above: by compiling data on the percentage of each racial group in a precinct and merging that with precinct-level vote choice from relevant election results.

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[4] For an approachable overview of this material, see Bruce M. Clarke & Robert Timothy Reagan, Federal Judicial Center, *Redistricting Litigation: An Overview Of Legal, Statistical, and Case-Management Issues* (2002).

[5] Loren Collingwood, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia Rios, and Matt Barreto, *eiCompare Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across El and EI:R x C*, 8 R. J., 93 (2016); *see also* Abrajano et al., *Using Experiments to Estimate Racially Polarized Voting*, UC Davis Legal Studies Research Paper No. 419 (2015) ("ecological inference (EI)...[is] the standard statistical tool of vote-dilution litigation). Despite the method's prominence, researchers have identified certain limitations on EI's ability to reveal race-correlated voting patterns in jurisdictions with more than two racial groups and non-trivial residential integration. *See* D. James Greiner, *Re-Solidifying Racial Bloc Voting: Empirics and Legal Doctrine in the Melting Pot*, 86 Indiana L. J. 447–497 (2011); D. James Greiner & Kevin M Quinn, *Exit Polling and Racial Bloc Voting: Combining Individual Level and Ecological Data*, 4 Annals Applied Statistics, 1774–1796 (2010). Strategic calculations by potential candidates as well as interest groups and donors also skew EI data. Abrajano, Marisa A., Christopher S. Elmendorf, and Kevin M. Quinn, *Racially Polarized Voting* (2015); D. James Greiner, *Causal Inference in Civil Rights Litigation*, 122 Harv. L. Rev. 533, 533–598 (2008).

[6] *See* Gary King, A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data, Princeton University Press (1997).

[7] *See* Ori Rosen, Wenxin Jiang, Gary King, and Martin Tanner, Bayesian and frequentist inference for ecological inference: the R x C case, Statistica Neerlandica, vol. 55 at 134-46 (2001).

19. One popular software program that has been relied on by Federal Courts is *eiCompare*, which imports data and runs both King's EI and RxC models and offers comparison diagnostics.[8] Collingwood, et al. (2016) have concluded that both EI and RxC produce similarly reliable regression estimates of vote choice. The EI models are agnostic on what type of input data political scientists use for racial demographics. It can be Voting Age Population (VAP) data from the U.S. Census, it can be a Spanish surname analysis of registered voters, or it can be a BISG estimate of race of the voter file. If the analyst is well-trained and uses the software properly, the models will perform the same statistical analysis and produce reliable estimates about voter preference by race.

20. To conduct analysis on a county as diverse as Galveston we rely on three different types of racial/ethnic demographic data. First, we used CVAP data from the U.S. Census ACS disaggregated to census blocks, downloaded from the Redistricting Data Hub.[9] Then, we performed a spatial overlay joining the CVAP data with a map of 2022 VTDs, downloaded from the TLC website. CVAP data is particularly useful for Anglo and Black racial estimates which are more difficult to derive from a surname analysis alone. The second data source is Spanish surname turnout, downloaded for each voting precinct/VTD from the TLC website. Spanish surname lists can be used to flag Hispanic voters on the actual voter file, in this case, among those who actually turned out to vote in elections. The third data source is modeled voter turnout by race. Here we use actual votes cast by each VTD over the denominator of total eligible voters (CVAP) to derive the turnout rate, which is then regressed against CVAP by race to arrive at a turnout rate for each racial or ethnic voting population. Using the turnout rate among eligible voters, we can then model what the racial composition of actual voters is by race within each VTD and use this as the input variable. For all models, we relied on CVAP, Spanish surname and modeled voters to produce estimates, and in every instance the Spanish surname estimates closely replicated and matched the Hispanic CVAP or Hispanic voters estimates.

21. Across all elections analyzed there is a clear, consistent, and statistically significant finding of racially polarized voting in Galveston County. Time and again, Black and Hispanic voters in Galveston are cohesive and vote for candidates of choice by roughly a 3-to-1 margin or greater, and always in contrast to Anglo voters who bloc-vote against minority candidates of choice. These voting patterns have been widely reported for at least three decades of voting rights litigation in Texas, including in Galveston area state or federal districts, and Federal courts have routinely concluded that elections in Texas are racially polarized. Galveston County is no different. What's more, this information is well-known to county and state map drawers and demographers and expert consultants in Galveston County. In particular, Galveston County Commissioner Holmes shared a report on racially polarized voting by Mr. Rios at the November 12, 2021, commission meeting, documenting that patterns of racially polarized voting were present in Galveston at the time they were tasked with the 2022 redistricting process.[10]

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[8] Loren Collingwood, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia Rios, and Matt Barreto, *eiCompare Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI:R x C*, 8 R J., 93 (2016).

[9] "Texas CVAP Data Disaggregated to the 2020 Block Level (2020)," Redistricting Data Hub, April 21, 2022, https://redistrictingdatahub.org/dataset/texas-cvap-data-disaggregated-to-the-2020-block-level-2020/.

[10] Galveston County Commissioner's Court November 12, 2021 Special Hearing Tr. 68: 14-23.

22. Mr. Rios analyzed recent elections in 2018 and 2020 and concluded that Black and Hispanic voters were cohesive and that Anglos block voted against minorities in each election. This report was consistent with the 2013 expert report of Barreto and Pedraza that also found patterns of polarized voting across 24 elections.

23. In the more than 350 ecological inference statistical models performed for this report, based on well-established social science published methodology, we conclude that across the 29 elections and 5 election cycles, elections in Galveston County are defined by racially polarized voting (see Appendix A table of racially polarized voting).

24. In elections across Galveston County ecological inference models point to a clear pattern of racially polarized voting. Hispanic voters and Black voters demonstrate unified and cohesive voting, siding for the same candidates of choice with high support. In contrast, Anglo voters strongly block vote against minority candidates of choice. Anglo block voting appears to be uniform across elections from 2014 to 2022 with rates over 85% opposition to minority-preferred candidates. Anglo voters demonstrate considerable block voting against Hispanic and Black candidates of choice, regularly voting in the exact opposite pattern of Hispanic and Black voters in Galveston. This is consistent with election analysis for Galveston County I presented in an expert report in 2013 that found Black and Hispanic voters to be unified across 24 elections from 2002 to 2012 while Anglos block voted against minority candidates of choice. Thus, this pattern is now consistent across 53 elections over 20 years in Galveston.

25. It is important to acknowledge that not every election contest contains a minority-preferred candidate. In some elections, voters are more or less agnostic about the candidates, while in other elections voters have deep preferences for their candidates of choice. In Galveston County, most elections are partisan and candidates register and run for office most commonly as a Democrat or Republican whether it is for local county office or statewide. In these instances, partisan general elections are often understood by voters through a racial/ethnic lens. Indeed, political science research has proven conclusively that attitudes about racial public policy issues, views on immigrants, and even racial animus influence partisanship among White voters[11]. Thus, it is voters views on matters of race that often push White voters today into voting for Republican candidates in the first place, providing a clear link to racially polarized voting even when one considers partisanship[12]. (For more on partisanship being intertwined with racial attitudes, see Section IV below, page 9)

[11]Marc Hooghe and Ruth Dassonneville. 2018. "Explaining the Trump Vote: The Effect of Racist Resentment and Anti-Immigrant Sentiments" PS: Political Science & Politics , Volume 51 , Issue 3 , July 2018 , pp. 528 – 534; Ashley Jardina. 2021. "In-Group Love and Out-Group Hate: White Racial Attitudes in Contemporary U.S. Elections" Political Behavior volume 43, pages 1535–1559

[12] Michael Tesler and David Sears. 2010. "President Obama and the Growing Polarization of Partisan Attachments by Racial Attitudes and Race." American Political Science Association Annual Conference. August.; Michael Tesler. 2012. "The Spillover of Racialization into Health Care: How President Obama Polarized Public Opinion by Racial Attitudes and Race" American Journal of Political Science. 56(3); Michael Tesler. 2013. "The Return of Old-Fashioned Racism to White Americans' Partisan Preferences in the Early Obama Era" The Journal of Politics. 75(1); Caroline J. Tolbert, David P. Redlawsk and Kellen J. Gracey. 2018. "Racial attitudes and emotional responses to the 2016 Republican candidates." Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties. 28

26. In Galveston County, Blacks and Hispanics vote cohesively, together, for like candidates of choice. In particular, the analysis reveals that Black and Hispanic voters are cohesive in local elections for county offices such as County Judge, County Sherriff, District Court Judge and more, and are also cohesive for statewide elections for Governor, U.S. Senate, and President.

27. Specifically looking at the portion of Galveston County with the largest non-Anglo population Black and Hispanic voters demonstrate overwhelming political cohesion in general elections. Here, primary elections are not as probative a source of information about political cohesion, given that neither group constitutes an outright majority and the relatively low primary voter turnout among minorities.

28. It is also the case that Hispanic communities in Galveston are considerably younger and have lower rates of citizenship, resulting in a smaller pool of eligible voters as compared to Anglos. Due to a long history of discrimination and institutional policies related to voter registration, voter identification laws, access to early voting and absentee-mail voting, Hispanics in Texas have lower rates of voter registration and lower rates of voter turnout.[13] The result is that map drawers throughout Texas, knowledgeable of these trends, dilute the Hispanic vote by creating districts in which Hispanic voters are not large enough in size to overcome the high degree of Anglo bloc-voting against their candidates of choice. For this reason, analysis of actual vote history can be important in understanding Hispanic voting patterns with more precision.

29. While CVAP data from the U.S. Census ACS can provide reliable vote choice estimates by racial group, we can also examine Spanish Surname voters from data compiled by TLC. In particular for groups that have lower rates of citizenship, registration or turnout, such as Hispanics, we can use data from the official voter rolls for actual people who voted to more precisely measure the percentage of Hispanics in a given voting precinct/VTD. We have replicated all ecological inference analyses using Spanish Surname turnout for each respective election year to also provide vote choice estimates for Spanish Surname voters. As the results make clear, Spanish Surname voters in Galveston County vote cohesively for Hispanic candidates of choice, and face bloc-voting against their candidates of choice by Anglo voters. Black voters demonstrate cohesion with Spanish Surname voters in Galveston.

IV.   Partisanship, Ideology and Racially Polarized Voting

30. Racially polarized voting is well known and well documented as an indicator of discrimination and has been a hallmark statistical measured relied on by the courts in states and jurisdictions being challenged under the Federal VRA. But racially polarized voting does not occur in a vacuum. Social science research has documented extensively that the underlying catalysts

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[13] *Veasey v. Perry,* 71 F. Supp. 3d 627, 697 (S.D. Tex. 2014), aff'd in part, vacated in part, remanded sub nom. *Veasey v. Abbott*, 796 F.3d 487 (5th Cir. 2015), on reh'g en banc, 830 F.3d 216 (5th Cir. 2016), and aff'd in part, vacated in part, rev'd in part sub nom. *Veasey v. Abbott*, 830 F.3d 216 (5th Cir. 2016)

triggering bloc voting are racial attitudes and stereotypes[14] and courts have routinely relied on measures like these as evidence of discrimination in voting lawsuits.[15]

31. In fact, extensive political science research has documented that measures of White racial attitudes have actually become more negative towards Blacks since the 2008, and in turn, have become more intertwined with partisanship. Research by Crayton et al. (2013) reports more than a 10-point increase in the percent of Whites who agreed that "if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites" in 2008 following the election of Barack Obama. At the same time, the American National Election Study (ANES) has shown that in states such as Texas, White voters increasingly believe that Blacks, Hispanics, Asians and Jews have "too much influence in politics" and that Whites have too little influence. Research documents that these beliefs have now been solidified as guiding principles in party affiliation.[16] Specifically, Crayton et al. draw the link between racial attitudes and partisanship noting "One might be inclined to characterize these findings simply as the product of partisanship rather than racial bloc voting, but additional data refute any serious suggestion that ideology accounts for these changes." To further investigate this relationship, Crayton et al. examined racial attitudes, partisanship and voting patterns across all 50 states and dismissed the claim that racially polarized voting was nothing more than partisanship. They conclude "party affiliation alone simply cannot account for this difference in states with roughly similar patterns of allegiance to Republican ideology."

32. Indeed, there is an abundance of published research in leading academic publications which finds that attitudes about racial public policy and views on immigrants are leading indicators of party affiliation among Whites.[17] Scholarly research has produced several significant findings showing that prejudice and discriminatory attitudes towards Blacks and Latinos persists and that it is one of the strongest predictors of party attachment among Whites.[18]

33. Further, a preponderance of the scholarship concludes that harboring negative racial attitudes is the underlying mechanism responsible for producing racial bloc voting among Whites, against minority candidates for elected office. For example, in a large-scale study of racial attitudes and voting, Professor Keith Reeves finds that "a significant number of Whites harbor feelings of

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[14] Edward G. Carmines & James A. Stimson, ISSUE EVOLUTION: RACE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICAN POLITICS (Princeton Univ. Press 1989); Thomas B. Edsall & Mary D. Edsall, CHAIN REACTION: THE IMPACT OF RACE, RIGHTS, AND TAXES ON AMERICAN POLITICS (W.W. Norton 1991); Michael W. Giles & Kaenan Hertz, Racial Threat and Partisan Identifi cation, 88 Am. Pol. Sci. Rev. 317 (1994); Robert Huckfeldt & Carol Weitzel Kohfeld, RACE AND THE DECLINE OF CLASS IN AMERICAN POLITICS (Univ. of Illinois Press 1989); Martin Gilens, Paul M. Sniderman, & James H. Kuklinski, Affi rmative Action and the Politics of Realignment, 28 Brit. J. Pol. Sci. 159 (1998).

[15] See, e.g., Busbee v. Smith, 549 F.Supp. 494, 501 (D. D.C. 1982) (finding state reapportionment committee's use of racially offensive terms to be probative of an intent to discriminate against Black voters).

[16] Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto. 2013. Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America. Princeton University Press

[17] Dana Ables Morales, Racial Attitudes and Partisan Identification in the United States, 1980-1992, 5 Party Politics 191 (1999); Nicholas A. Valentino & David O. Sears, Old Times There Are not Forgotten: Race and Partisan Realignment in the Contemporary South, 24 Am. J. Pol. Sci. 672 (2005).

[18] M. V. Hood & Seth C. McKee, Gerrymandering on Georgia's Mind: The Effects of Redistricting on Vote Choice in the 2006 Midterm Election, 89 Soc. Sci. Q. 60 (2008); Richard Skinner & Philip Klinkner, Black, White, Brown and Cajun: The Racial Dynamics of the 2003 Louisiana Gubernatorial Election, The Forum 2 (1) (2004).

antipathy toward Black Americans as a categorical group – feelings and sentiments that are openly and routinely expressed…. And where such prejudices are excited…they constitute the critical linchpin in Black office-seekers' success in garnering White votes."[19] Writing more than 10 years later about the 2008 presidential election, Michael Tesler and David Sears[20] find the same pattern. Even after controlling for partisanship and ideology, they find "the most racially resentful were more than 70 percentage points more likely to support McCain in March 2008 than were the least racially resentful." Tesler and Sears conclude that the Obama era unfortunately reshaped partisan affiliation in contemporary America almost entirely through the lens of racial attitudes.

34. In what comes close to a consensus in published, empirical political science studies, scholarly work supports the finding that discriminatory attitudes and racial prejudice play a central role in driving White party identification, and this is especially strong in states such as Texas[21].

35. These findings comport with other existing research that has noted the pattern of polarized voting in national elections. The 2008 election of Barack Obama rekindled decades old research on racial attitudes, partisanship and voting patterns. Newer published research finds clear evidence that in 2012 Barack Obama received less support in his presidential elections among White voters in Southern states than John Kerry did in 2004 or Al Gore in 2000 as a direct result of racial prejudice and discriminatory attitudes.[22]

36. In his analysis of the White vote for Obama in Southern states, Professor Ben Highton notes[23], "at the state level, the influence of prejudice on voting was comparable to the influence of partisanship and ideology. Racial attitudes explain support for Obama and shifts in Democratic voting between 2004 and 2008." This finding is corroborated by Professor Spencer Piston's individual-level analysis of voter attitudes and support for Barack Obama in Southern states, drawing a direct link between racial attitudes and voting, independent of partisanship[24]: "Negative stereotypes about Blacks significantly eroded White support for Barack Obama," concluding that "White voters punished Obama for his race rather than his party affiliation."

37. Other research demonstrates that, recently, particularly after the election of Barack Obama, white American partisan preferences are increasingly the result of "old-fashioned racism." In

[19] Keith Reeves, VOTING HOPES OR FEARS? WHITE VOTERS, BLACK CANDIDATES & RACIAL POLITICS IN AMERICA 74 (Oxford Univ. Press 1997).

[20] Michael Tesler and David Sears, OBAMA'S RACE: THE 2008 ELECTION AND THE DREAM OF A POST-RACIAL AMERICA 61 (Univ. of Chicago Press 2010).

[21] Jonathan Knuckey, Racial Resentment and the Changing Partisanship of Southern Whites, 11 Party Politics 5 (2005); Edward G. Carmines & James A. Stimson, ISSUE EVOLUTION: RACE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICAN POLITICS (Princeton Univ Press)

[22] Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Charles Tien, & Richard Nadeau, Obama's Missed Landslide: A Racial Cost?, 43 Pol. Sci. & Politics 69 (2010); Todd Donavan, Obama and the White Vote, 63 Pol. Res. Q. 863 (2010); Anthony G. Greenwald, Colin Tucker Smith, N. Sriram, Yoav Bar-Anon, & Brian A. Nosek, Implicit Race Attitudes Predicted Vote in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election, 9 Analysis of Soc. Issues & Pub. Pol.'y, 241 (2009); Tom Pyszczynski, Carl Henthorn, Matt Motyl, & Kristel Gerow, Is Obama the AntiChrist? Racial Priming, Extreme Criticisms of Barack Obama, and Attitudes Towards the 2008 U.S. Presidential Candidates, 46 J. of Experimental Soc. Psychol., 863 (2010)

[23] Ben Highton, Prejudice Rivals Partisanship and Ideology When Explaining the 2008 Presidential Vote across the States, 44 PS: Pol. Sci. & Politics 530 (2011).

[24] Spencer Piston, How Explicit Racial Prejudice Hurt Obama in the 2008 Election, 32 Pol. Behavior 431 (2010).

prior social science research, old-fashioned racism is, in part, conceived as a desire to maintain intimate social distance between the races. Published research by Tesler (2013) demonstrates that white Americans who oppose intra-racial dating are more likely to identify with the Republican party[25]. This correlation did not exist during the 1980s-early 2000s. But it manifested after the election of Barack Obama, the first Black president.

38. While the Obama era certainly brought renewed attention to the link between partisanship and racial attitudes, scholars have been studying this phenomenon since the realignment of partisanship across the South. There is a plethora of research demonstrating that partisan sorting on the basis of ethno-racial group identification is a function of racial attitudes, specifically antipathy toward non-white groups among white Americans who have sorted into the Republican Party. A recent study from the *American Economic Review*[26], the premier journal in the field of economics, demonstrates that white Americans, particularly in states such as Texas, began to defect from the Democratic Party after the Democratic party became more strongly committed to Civil Rights (pinpointed as the moment President Kennedy addressed the nation that he was committed to implementing Civil Rights legislation in Spring 1963). Research demonstrates White Americans in the southern states who were predisposed to leave the Democratic party in favor of the Republican party did so for race-based reasons, defined in this particular paper as willingness to vote for a Black president, thus linking racial attitudes, partisanship and voting preference directly together.

39. Perhaps the most conclusive *causal* evidence that racial attitudes are driving partisanship, and not merely conservative ideology, comes from the detailed and comprehensive analysis presented by Kuziemko and Washington (2018). Importantly, this paper disentangles antipathy toward Black people from other factors that may motivate White Americans to support the Republican party and not be willing to vote for a Black president, such as conservative principles, support for reduced government intervention, and other policy preferences (e.g., foreign policy). The overall effect in this paper is driven by White Americans in the southern states including Texas, showing that White Americans in the South relative to White Americans outside the South possess very similar attitudes on conservatism, outside the dimension of racial attitudes, such as economic and foreign policy[27]. The findings also demonstrate that Democratic commitments to general civil rights in 1963 *do not* produce defections towards the Republican party among Southern whites, if they are unwilling to support a Jewish, Catholic, or Woman president, all other groups that were associated with liberal beliefs at the time. Instead, it is *only* among those who have negative racial attitudes or who are unwilling to support a Black president who leave the Democratic Party for the Republican Party. In their regression model, they statistically adjust for views towards Jewish, Catholic, or Female president and find that unwillingness to support a Black president is the

[25] Tesler, Michael. "The return of old-fashioned racism to White Americans' partisan preferences in the early Obama era." The Journal of Politics 75, no. 1 (2013): 110-123.

[26] Kuziemko, Ilyana, and Ebonya Washington. "Why did the Democrats lose the South? Bringing new data to an old debate." American Economic Review 108, no. 10 (2018): 2830-67.

[27] E.g. agreement that government should not guarantee jobs, agreement that government should help people get medicare care at low cost, agreement the government should not be able to fire suspected communists, keep soldiers abroad to fight communism, etc

single most critical factor determining defection from the Democratic party into the Republican party.

40. More statistical evidence for this finding of the partisan shift in southern states like Texas has been published by Valentino and Sears (2005)[28]. In the years following the Civil Rights Movement, whites in the South became increasingly Republican over time. Valentino and Sears also prove that white Southerners who hold "symbolically racist" beliefs are more likely to identify with the Republican party over time. That is, it was not just in the 1960s and 1970s that things changed, but these attitudes stayed with people and continued to inform their partisan affiliation. In their detailed statistical analysis, the scholars rule out secular conservative principles outside of providing support for Black people by demonstrating that ideologically conservativism is not causing whites to become more Republican over time. Instead, conservative racial attitudes are directly linked to Republican affiliation. Therefore, although many Southern whites hold conservative principles, this is *not* their motivation for partisan switching, rather, the key motivation is their racial attitudes.

41. The findings in political science are not limited to racial views towards Blacks, but increasingly today White partisanship is influenced by views towards Latinos and immigrants. Hajnal and Rivera (2014)[29] conclude that negative views towards immigrants motivates defection from Democrats and toward the Republican party. Likewise, more recent research published by Ostfeld (2019)[30] demonstrates that when Democratic political elites make campaign appeals to Latinos, it results in partisan defections by white Americans from the Democratic party toward the Republican party.

42. Perhaps most directly taking on the question of race and party are political scientists Sean Westwood and Erik Peterson in their 2020 published paper[31], "The inseparability of race and partisanship in the United States." The authors demonstrate that although partisanship and race are highly correlated with one another, white Americans viewpoints toward racial minority groups directly effects their attachment to either the Democratic or Republican Party, and vice versa. In other words, a negative evaluation of a Blacks or Hispanics translates into a negative evaluation of Democrats in general, and positive evaluation of Whites translates into positive evaluations of Republicans in general, and vice versa. They conclude that racial discrimination is intimately linked to partisan discrimination, and their research finds these two concepts to be "inseparable." Indeed, how White Americans view or interact with Blacks and Latinos directly influences their views of political parties, as they write "out-race interactions rapidly spill into assessments of the other political party."

43. In Texas, the most critical elections to voters of color are often the general election when Black and Hispanic voters regularly vote together for similar candidates of choice. These elections

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[28] Valentino, Nicholas A., and David O. Sears. "Old times there are not forgotten: Race and partisan realignment in the contemporary South." American Journal of Political Science 49, no. 3 (2005): 672-688.

[29] Hajnal, Zoltan, and Michael U. Rivera. "Immigration, Latinos, and white partisan politics: The new democratic defection." American Journal of Political Science 58, no. 4 (2014): 773-789.

[30] Ostfeld, Mara Cecilia. "The new white flight?: The effects of political appeals to Latinos on white democrats." Political Behavior 41, no. 3 (2019): 561-582.

[31] Westwood, Sean J., and Erik Peterson. "The inseparability of race and partisanship in the United States." Political Behavior (2020): 1-23.

are critical because voters are deciding who to send to the State Capital or our Nation's Capital to represent them in public policy debates. While candidates also face off in primary debates, in most instances minority voters can regularly elect their candidate of choice in a primary, given their electoral influence in a district. However, in some instances, jurisdictions intentionally create districts in which no racial group is a majority, even though creating a majority-minority is possible. In these instances of diverse and mixed districts coalitions can and do emerge. In districts where no single racial group is large enough by themselves to determine who wins, there can be different candidates who emerge from different communities. However, it is usually the case that even after a contested primary, minority voters form a very strong coalition in the November general election when voter turnout is much higher, and the stakes are much higher to select their ultimate representative for the State or Federal legislature. Primary elections are also not as probative a source of information about political cohesion, given the relatively low voter turnout and the skewed nature of the electorate.

V.   Performance Analysis of Different Districts

44. As a result of the increase of over 40,000 non-Anglo racial minorities in Galveston County in the last ten years, Black and Hispanic voters are easily large and geographically compact enough to form a majority-minority performing political district for the County Commission. However, even before this large growth in the minority population between 2010 – 2020, the Black and Hispanic community was already large in size and geographically compact enough to allow minority voters to elect a candidate of their choice.

45. Looking closely at the adopted map as compared to demonstration maps submitted by plaintiffs, it is clear that the map adopted by Galveston County dilutes the Hispanic and Black vote by creating numerous districts which do not perform for minority candidates of choice, cracking their population. Given the large growth in the minority population and the *decline* in the Anglo *share* of the county population, plaintiffs' demonstration maps can remedy the dilution in the adopted map and put back together a district which performs for Hispanic and Black candidates of choice which the adopted map eliminated.

46. To assess district performance, I compiled election results constrained to the political boundaries of the Galveston County Commission districts. Data were obtained from the State of Texas, TLC and Galveston County. In looking at the election results below in table 2, it is clear that none of the four districts perform for Black and Hispanic candidates of choice, and instead all four districts elect Anglo-preferred candidates. Reviewing demonstration plans submitted by plaintiffs, I conclude that a district which performs for Black and Hispanic candidates of choice can be drawn. Examining prior election results, sorted just for the precincts/VTDs within a given district, I conclude that Galveston County has failed to create a performing Black + Hispanic district.

Table 2: Performance Analysis of Recent Elections

			Adopted			
			1	**2**	**3**	**4**
	Anglo CVAP		64.9%	62.4%	64.0%	61.6%
	Black CVAP		10.7%	14.4%	9.5%	18.2%
	Hispanic CVAP		21.5%	20.6%	19.0%	15.3%
	Other CVAP		2.9%	2.6%	7.6%	4.9%
2022	Governor	Abbott	65.2%	59.2%	65.8%	62.3%
		O'Rourke	34.8%	40.8%	34.2%	37.7%
	Attorney General	Paxton	64.8%	58.9%	65.7%	62.2%
		Garza	35.2%	41.1%	34.3%	37.8%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	64.9%	58.7%	65.4%	61.9%
		Collier	35.1%	41.3%	34.6%	38.1%
	County Judge	Henry	66.6%	60.2%	67.8%	63.7%
		King	33.4%	39.8%	32.2%	36.3%
	U.S. House of Representatives, District #14	Weber	66.7%	60.7%	67.4%	63.7%
		Williams	33.3%	39.3%	32.6%	36.3%
	District Judge #122	Jones	66.4%	60.4%	67.4%	63.6%
		Walsdorf	33.6%	39.6%	32.6%	36.4%
	District Attorney	Roady	67.5%	61.8%	68.7%	64.5%
		Dragony	32.5%	38.2%	31.3%	35.5%
2020	President	Trump	63.8%	56.8%	64.6%	60.6%
		Biden	36.2%	43.2%	35.4%	39.4%
	Senate	Cornyn	65.4%	58.1%	66.8%	62.1%
		Hegar	34.6%	41.9%	33.2%	37.9%
	Sheriff	Trochesset	65.1%	59.6%	66.8%	62.2%
		Salinas	34.9%	40.4%	33.2%	37.8%
		Weber	65.8%	58.4%	67.6%	62.4%
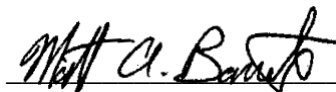
Year	Office	Candidate				
	U.S. House of Representatives, District #14	Bell	34.2%	41.6%	32.4%	37.6%
2018	Senate	Cruz	62.3%	53.7%	64.6%	59.6%
		O'Rourke	37.7%	46.3%	35.4%	40.4%
	Governor	Abbott	66.9%	58.4%	69.9%	63.8%
		Valdez	33.1%	41.6%	30.1%	36.2%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	63.3%	55.2%	65.9%	60.0%
		Collier	36.7%	44.8%	34.1%	40.0%
	Attorney General	Paxton	62.3%	53.7%	65.1%	59.1%
		Nelson	37.7%	46.3%	34.9%	40.9%
	U.S. House of Representatives, District #14	Weber	64.0%	55.6%	67.2%	61.2%
		Bell	36.0%	44.4%	32.8%	38.8%
2016	President	Clinton	34.5%	44.2%	31.7%	38.3%
		Trump	65.5%	55.8%	68.3%	61.7%
	Supreme Court, Position #5	Green	66.9%	56.6%	71.4%	63.4%
		Garza	33.1%	43.4%	28.6%	36.6%
	U.S. House of Representatives, District #14	Weber	67.4%	56.9%	71.8%	63.8%
		Cole	32.6%	43.1%	28.2%	36.2%
2014	Senate	Cornyn	70.3%	59.2%	76.2%	64.8%
		Alameel	29.7%	40.8%	23.8%	35.2%
	U.S. House of Representatives, District #14	Weber	69.2%	57.7%	75.3%	64.0%
		Brown	30.8%	42.3%	24.7%	36.0%
	Governor	Abbott	66.3%	54.0%	72.4%	61.7%
		Davis	33.7%	46.0%	27.6%	38.3%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	66.5%	54.7%	72.5%	61.9%
		Van De Putte	33.5%	45.3%	27.5%	38.1%

Attorney General	Paxton	67.4%	55.1%	73.8%	62.7%
	Houston	32.6%	44.9%	26.2%	37.3%
Supreme Court, Position #7	Boyd	67.5%	55.1%	73.9%	62.7%
	Benavides	32.5%	44.9%	26.1%	37.3%

47. In preparing this report there were some data that was not yet produced, or made readily available by Defendants, and as more data does become available, or new elections results are posted, we will provide additional data and analysis of population statistics and election results to supplement this report.

48. I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true to the best of my personal knowledge.

January 13, 2023

Dr. Matt A. Barreto

Agoura Hills, California

January 13, 2023

Michael Rios

Rancho Cucamonga, California

Appendix A: Racially Polarized Voting Tables

Table 1: Galveston County Ecological Inference (EI) Candidate Choice Estimates

Year	Office	Candidate	Ecological Inference (EI) Iterative							
			CVAP as race input				SSTO	Estimated actual vote		
			Anglo	Non-Anglo	Hispanic	Black	Spanish Surname	Anglo	Hispanic	Black
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	85.8	16.9	33.3	0.7	22.4	80.5	25.5	0.8
		Garza	14.2	83.1	66.7	99.3	77.6	19.5	74.5	99.2
	County Judge	Henry	87.6	18.3	30.2	0.9	32.0	82.5	24.3	0.8
		King	12.4	81.7	69.8	99.1	68.0	17.5	75.7	99.2
	Governor	Abbott	86.0	16.8	32.8	0.5	38.2	80.8	29.7	0.5
		O'Rourke	14.0	83.2	67.2	99.5	61.8	19.2	70.3	99.5
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	85.5	16.5	33.7	0.9	23.6	80.3	26.8	0.1
		Collier	14.5	83.5	66.3	99.1	76.4	19.7	73.2	99.9
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	87.3	18.7	31.2	0.5	31.3	82.7	24.9	0.4
		Williams	12.7	81.3	68.8	99.5	68.7	17.3	75.1	99.6
	District 122 Judge	Jones	87.2	18.1	29.0	0.6	30.6	82.4	25.1	0.8
		Walsdorf	12.8	81.9	71.0	99.4	69.4	17.6	74.9	99.2
	District Attorney	Roady	88.3	19.8	29.4	1.1	30.8	83.7	24.8	0.8
		Dragony	11.7	80.2	70.6	98.9	69.2	16.3	75.2	99.2

Year	Office	Candidate								
2020	County Sheriff	Trochesset	88.2	15.8	27.1	0.5	41.5	82.8	22.8	0.5
		Salinas	11.8	84.2	72.9	99.5	58.5	17.2	77.2	99.5
	President	Trump	85.6	14.9	33.4	0.6	21.8	80.4	24.6	1.0
		Biden	14.4	85.1	66.6	99.4	78.2	19.6	75.4	99.0
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	87.2	16.5	29.2	0.6	34.3	82.5	24.1	0.5
		Hegar	12.8	83.5	70.8	99.4	65.7	17.5	75.9	99.5
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	87.6	17.4	27.6	0.8	40.9	83.0	23.8	1.3
		Bell	12.4	82.6	72.4	99.2	59.1	17.0	76.2	98.7
	District 405 Judge	Robinson	87.4	16.7	27.8	1.2	34.8	82.7	24.4	0.4
		Hudson	12.6	83.3	72.2	98.8	65.2	17.3	75.6	99.6
	District 56 Judge	Cox	88.4	18.4	30.5	0.7	34.9	83.9	25.7	1.1
		Lindsey	11.6	81.6	69.5	99.3	65.1	16.1	74.3	98.9
2018	Attorney General	Paxton	84.5	11.0	14.5	0.8	10.8	79.5	14.1	1.4
		Nelson	15.5	89.0	85.5	99.2	89.2	20.5	85.9	98.6
	Governor	Abbott	89.1	15.9	15.7	0.5	29.1	84.9	15.7	0.7
		Valdez	10.9	84.1	84.3	99.5	70.9	15.1	84.3	99.3
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	85.5	11.9	15.8	1.0	14.8	80.6	14.4	0.7
		Collier	14.5	88.1	84.2	99.0	85.2	19.4	85.6	99.3
	U.S. Senate	Cruz	84.3	11.5	15.2	1.1	16.6	79.5	13.9	0.8
		O'Rourke	15.7	88.5	84.8	98.9	83.4	20.5	86.1	99.2
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	86.6	12.9	15.2	0.8	9.7	81.8	16.0	0.6
		Bell	13.4	87.1	84.8	99.2	90.3	18.2	84.0	99.4
2016	President	Trump	86.8	13.1	16.8	0.7	0.3	80.7	16.1	0.7

Year	Office	Candidate								
		Clinton	13.2	86.9	83.2	99.3	99.7	19.3	83.9	99.3
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #5	Green	88.2	15.6	15.9	0.5	22.8	82.8	16.0	0.4
		Garza	11.8	84.4	84.1	99.5	77.2	17.2	84.0	99.6
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	88.6	15.8	17.4	0.4	31.8	83.2	15.5	0.1
		Cole	11.4	84.2	82.6	99.6	68.2	16.8	84.5	99.9
	District 10 Judge	Neves	88.9	15.8	17.6	0.4	32.0	83.3	17.3	0.1
		Walker	11.1	84.2	82.4	99.6	68.0	16.7	82.7	99.9
2014	Attorney General	Paxton	86.4	18.8	16.9	0.6	16.5	82.3	14.9	0.2
		Houston	13.6	81.2	83.1	99.4	83.5	17.7	85.1	99.8
	County Commissioner, Precinct #4	Clark	86.7	45.2	37.3	10.7	0.0	87.1	37.1	0.1
		Hutchins	13.3	54.8	62.7	89.3	100.0	12.9	62.9	99.9
	Governor	Abbott	85.8	16.9	15.9	0.2	15.4	81.5	13.0	0.0
		Davis	14.2	83.1	84.1	99.8	84.6	18.5	87.0	100.0
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	86.3	16.6	15.1	0.3	14.4	82.0	12.0	0.4
		Van De Putte	13.7	83.4	84.9	99.7	85.6	18.0	88.0	99.6
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	89.0	22.2	16.2	2.0	13.5	85.2	11.2	0.3
		Alameel	11.0	77.8	83.8	98.0	86.5	14.8	88.8	99.7
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #7	Boyd	86.9	18.3	15.4	0.3	13.8	82.7	13.7	0.5
		Benavides	13.1	81.7	84.6	99.7	86.2	17.3	86.3	99.5
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	88.3	20.5	15.6	1.5	14.0	84.3	12.4	0.2
		Brown	11.7	79.5	84.4	98.5	86.0	15.7	87.6	99.8

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Table 2: Galveston County EI Rows by Columns (RxC) Candidate Choice Estimates

Year	Office	Candidate	Ecological Inference Rows by Columns (RxC)								
			CVAP as race input					SSTO	Estimated actual vote		
			Anglo	Non-Anglo	Anglo	Hispanic	Black	Spanish Surname	Anglo	Hispanic	Black
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	86.4	15.2	82.4	32.3	7.2	32.5	77.4	27.6	6.5
		Garza	13.6	84.8	17.6	67.7	92.8	67.5	22.6	72.4	93.5
	County Judge	Henry	87.6	17.9	84.4	33.9	7.2	32.5	79.6	27.5	7.3
		King	12.4	82.1	15.6	66.1	92.8	67.5	20.4	72.5	92.7
	Governor	Abbott	86.2	16.3	82.6	33.3	6.8	31.1	78.0	27.1	5.7
		O'Rourke	13.8	83.7	17.4	66.7	93.2	68.9	22.0	72.9	94.3
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	86.0	15.6	82.0	32.3	7.6	29.9	77.3	28.4	5.6
		Collier	14.0	84.4	18.0	67.7	92.4	70.1	22.7	71.6	94.4
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	87.4	18.4	84.1	36.2	6.5	31.5	79.7	29.5	6.5
		Williams	12.6	81.6	15.9	63.8	93.5	68.5	20.3	70.5	93.5
	District 122 Judge	Jones	87.4	18.0	84.5	33.5	6.5	32.2	79.7	27.2	6.1
		Walsdorf	12.6	82.0	15.5	66.6	93.5	67.8	20.3	72.8	93.9
	District Attorney	Roady	88.1	20.0	85.2	36.1	7.8	30.6	80.8	28.8	6.9
		Dragony	11.9	80.0	14.8	63.9	92.2	69.4	19.2	71.2	93.1

Year	Office	Candidate									
2020	County Sheriff	Trochesset	88.3	15.4	85.4	28.4	7.1	30.8	80.0	25.9	6.8
		Salinas	11.7	84.6	14.6	71.6	92.9	69.2	20.0	74.1	93.2
	President	Trump	86.1	14.2	82.2	29.5	6.9	31.4	77.3	26.8	6.0
		Biden	13.9	85.8	17.8	70.5	93.1	68.6	22.7	73.2	94.0
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	87.4	16.2	84.3	30.7	6.6	31.8	79.6	25.7	6.4
		Hegar	12.6	83.8	15.7	69.3	93.4	68.2	20.4	74.4	93.6
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	87.9	16.6	85.4	29.6	7.2	32.3	80.5	25.2	6.4
		Bell	12.1	83.4	14.6	70.4	92.8	67.7	19.5	74.8	93.6
	District 405 Judge	Robinson	87.8	16.0	85.2	29.0	6.8	30.1	80.6	20.6	6.6
		Hudson	12.2	84.0	14.8	71.0	93.2	69.9	19.4	79.4	93.4
	District 56 Judge	Cox	88.4	18.2	85.4	33.8	6.9	32.1	81.0	29.1	6.7
		Lindsey	11.6	81.8	14.6	66.2	93.1	67.9	19.0	70.9	93.3
2018	Attorney General	Paxton	85.0	10.0	82.0	16.7	7.0	25.8	76.2	18.1	6.1
		Nelson	15.0	90.0	18.0	83.3	93.0	74.2	23.8	81.9	93.9
	Governor	Abbott	89.6	14.9	87.0	23.2	7.3	27.3	82.2	18.8	7.2
		Valdez	10.4	85.1	13.0	76.8	92.7	72.7	17.8	81.2	92.8
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	85.8	11.5	83.0	18.0	7.6	24.0	77.8	17.9	6.9
		Collier	14.2	88.5	17.0	82.0	92.4	76.0	22.2	82.1	93.1
	U.S. Senate	Cruz	85.2	9.6	81.8	17.8	6.8	25.1	76.7	17.4	5.7
		O'Rourke	14.8	90.4	18.2	82.2	93.2	74.9	23.3	82.6	94.3
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	87.2	11.4	84.2	18.9	7.1	26.4	79.2	17.0	5.3
		Bell	12.8	88.6	15.8	81.1	92.9	73.6	20.8	83.0	94.7
2016	President	Trump	87.6	11.4	84.9	19.8	7.0	24.8	78.7	16.1	5.7

Year	Office	Candidate									
		Clinton	12.3	88.6	15.1	80.2	93.0	75.2	21.3	83.9	94.3
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #5	Green	89.5	13.2	87.4	17.9	8.4	25.0	81.0	15.2	6.1
		Garza	10.5	86.8	12.6	82.1	91.6	75.0	19.0	84.8	93.9
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	89.4	14.4	87.0	21.3	8.2	27.1	81.3	16.5	4.8
		Cole	10.6	85.6	13.0	78.7	91.8	72.9	18.7	83.5	95.2
	District 10 Judge	Neves	89.8	14.2	87.5	20.5	8.1	28.3	81.3	16.4	6.2
		Walker	10.2	85.8	12.5	79.5	91.9	71.7	18.7	83.6	93.8
2014	Attorney General	Paxton	87.9	15.8	86.1	24.7	9.0	22.1	80.4	17.2	6.6
		Houston	12.1	84.2	13.9	75.3	91.0	77.9	19.6	82.8	93.4
	County Commissioner, Precinct #4	Clark	90.2	35.7	88.5	41.2	39.9	46.1	85.4	40.4	40.2
		Hutchins	9.8	64.3	11.5	58.8	60.1	53.9	14.6	59.6	59.8
	Governor	Abbott	86.8	14.5	84.1	21.3	8.0	24.7	79.0	16.6	5.8
		Davis	13.2	85.4	15.9	78.7	92.0	75.3	21.0	83.4	94.2
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	87.8	13.6	84.9	21.0	7.9	23.4	79.7	16.5	5.9
		Van De Putte	12.2	86.4	15.1	79.0	92.1	76.6	20.3	83.5	94.1
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	91.1	17.9	89.6	22.0	9.4	23.2	83.9	17.5	6.8
		Alameel	8.8	82.1	10.4	78.0	90.6	76.8	16.1	82.5	93.2
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #7	Boyd	88.5	15.0	86.3	19.6	8.3	22.5	80.9	15.2	6.4
		Benavides	11.5	85.0	13.7	80.4	91.7	77.5	19.1	84.8	93.6
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	90.3	16.4	88.6	20.8	9.1	24.2	82.8	16.8	7.2
		Brown	9.7	83.6	11.4	79.2	90.9	75.8	17.2	83.2	92.8

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Table 3: Galveston County Ecological Inference (EI) Candidate Choice Confidence Intervals (CVAP)

Year	Office	Candidate	[LOWER] EI - Anglo (CVAP)	[UPPER] EI - Anglo (CVAP)	[LOWER] EI - Non-Anglo (CVAP)	[UPPER] EI - Non-Anglo (CVAP)	[LOWER] EI - Anglo (CVAP)	[UPPER] EI - Anglo (CVAP)	[LOWER] EI - Hispanic (CVAP)	[UPPER] EI - Hispanic (CVAP)	[LOWER] EI - Black (CVAP)	[UPPER] EI - Black (CVAP)
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	84.1	87.4	13.1	20.1	84.4	87.1	22.0	46.2	0.4	1.7
		Garza	12.8	16.2	79.2	86.2	12.8	15.7	49.1	79.2	98.0	99.7
	County Judge	Henry	86.1	89.2	15.1	21.1	85.6	88.8	16.8	42.1	0.3	2.3
		King	10.8	13.8	78.7	84.8	11.2	14.2	58.6	79.9	99.5	99.7
	Governor	Abbott	84.6	87.2	14.2	20.6	84.8	87.9	21.2	48.4	0.3	0.6
		O'Rourke	12.2	15.5	79.7	85.9	12.5	15.5	53.0	78.6	98.8	99.7
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	83.8	87.1	13.8	19.7	83.9	87.0	17.8	45.8	0.4	2.3
		Collier	13.1	16.3	79.8	86.2	13.2	16.1	48.9	78.6	99.3	99.6
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	85.9	89.1	16.1	22.4	86.0	88.9	20.7	43.6	0.3	0.8
		Williams	11.4	14.6	77.5	84.3	11.1	14.0	58.0	78.8	99.4	99.8
	District 122 Judge	Jones	86.1	88.6	15.4	21.1	86.1	89.2	19.3	39.2	0.3	1.0
		Walsdorf	11.5	14.3	79.3	84.6	10.7	13.9	61.9	80.6	99.4	99.8
	District Attorney	Roady	86.2	89.7	17.4	23.3	86.7	89.5	17.4	39.5	0.6	2.2
		Dragony	9.8	13.6	77.2	83.2	10.0	13.3	58.3	81.2	98.7	99.6
2020	County Sheriff	Trochesset	86.7	89.3	13.4	18.7	87.0	89.5	16.8	35.4	0.3	0.7
		Salinas	10.7	13.5	82.0	86.2	10.7	13.9	64.1	83.0	99.2	99.7
	President	Trump	84.0	87.5	11.5	18.4	83.4	87.0	20.4	48.1	0.3	1.0
		Biden	12.9	16.4	81.0	87.6	12.7	16.0	51.6	78.7	99.4	99.7
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	85.6	88.4	13.5	19.8	85.5	88.8	16.8	38.7	0.3	1.2
		Hegar	11.3	14.5	80.6	86.9	11.5	14.4	57.9	80.5	98.0	99.7

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	Office	Candidate										
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	86.1	88.8	14.1	20.3	86.3	89.3	18.4	39.7	0.5	1.2
		Bell	10.6	14.2	79.6	85.3	10.9	14.1	60.1	81.0	96.7	99.5
	District 405 Judge	Robinson	86.2	89.0	14.1	20.0	86.0	89.1	19.4	38.4	0.5	3.0
		Hudson	10.9	14.4	80.4	85.9	11.4	14.3	64.9	80.6	98.3	99.6
	District 56 Judge	Cox	86.8	89.8	14.8	21.7	86.4	90.1	17.6	38.3	0.4	1.4
		Lindsey	10.1	12.9	78.8	84.4	10.2	13.9	57.8	80.6	98.1	99.7
2018	Attorney General	Paxton	83.4	85.7	8.0	14.0	83.2	85.6	9.0	22.1	0.5	1.0
		Nelson	14.1	16.8	86.0	91.5	14.3	16.4	77.2	90.8	97.8	99.4
	Governor	Abbott	87.7	90.6	13.7	19.4	87.8	90.3	9.6	23.9	0.2	1.6
		Valdez	9.7	12.4	81.7	86.7	9.8	12.5	78.9	90.1	99.0	99.9
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	84.4	86.7	9.9	14.2	84.0	86.6	9.0	24.2	0.4	2.1
		Collier	13.2	16.0	85.4	90.3	13.4	16.0	75.1	91.3	99.0	99.6
	U.S. Senate	Cruz	82.8	85.3	9.0	13.6	82.7	85.5	9.1	24.3	0.5	2.1
		O'Rourke	14.4	17.2	86.6	90.6	14.2	16.7	77.3	92.1	99.2	99.6
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	85.0	87.7	9.9	15.6	85.3	87.8	9.1	20.7	0.3	2.2
		Bell	12.2	14.8	84.3	89.8	12.1	14.8	77.9	89.9	97.7	99.7
2016	President	Trump	85.8	88.1	11.0	16.0	85.0	88.2	10.5	24.7	0.2	2.5
		Clinton	12.1	14.7	84.2	89.7	11.9	14.9	73.6	90.1	99.3	99.7
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #5	Green	86.7	89.4	12.6	18.0	87.0	89.4	9.9	22.3	0.3	0.8
		Garza	10.2	13.3	81.5	86.5	10.7	12.9	77.8	90.5	98.9	99.6
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	87.1	89.7	13.4	19.1	87.5	90.0	11.9	22.8	0.1	0.7
		Cole	10.2	13.0	80.1	86.7	10.3	13.1	76.5	87.9	99.6	99.8

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	District 10 Judge	Neves	87.5	89.8	13.5	18.7	87.6	90.3	11.5	25.7	0.2	0.7
		Walker	9.8	12.2	81.4	86.9	9.8	12.3	74.5	90.6	99.6	99.8
2014	Attorney General	Paxton	84.8	87.8	16.2	22.0	84.9	87.9	10.9	26.2	0.1	1.6
		Houston	11.8	15.2	77.9	83.7	11.9	15.1	76.0	89.2	99.0	99.8
	County Commissioner, Precinct #4	Clark	82.0	92.1	30.5	62.4	81.3	91.1	33.3	40.5	0.0	26.2
		Hutchins	8.1	20.6	39.3	69.8	6.7	18.2	59.6	67.0	77.3	99.8
	Governor	Abbott	84.0	87.3	14.2	20.0	84.5	87.2	8.9	23.5	0.1	0.4
		Davis	13.2	15.4	79.2	85.8	12.9	15.9	77.3	90.1	98.5	99.9
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	84.7	87.4	13.0	19.1	84.6	87.6	8.5	22.1	0.1	0.5
		Van De Putte	12.1	15.3	80.9	85.6	12.4	15.4	76.9	90.2	99.1	99.9
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	87.7	90.4	18.6	26.2	87.7	90.2	10.1	23.3	0.9	3.3
		Alameel	9.2	12.4	74.6	81.1	9.5	12.5	79.0	88.9	96.7	99.0
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #7	Boyd	85.4	88.4	15.2	22.1	85.5	88.4	9.9	20.5	0.1	0.4
		Benavides	11.2	14.6	78.8	84.7	11.8	15.0	79.2	89.4	99.4	99.9
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	86.6	89.3	17.2	23.4	86.8	89.7	10.7	23.3	0.4	2.6
		Brown	10.5	13.4	77.0	83.2	10.6	13.5	77.2	90.2	96.9	99.3

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Table 4: Galveston County Ecological Inference (EI) Candidate Choice Confidence Intervals (SSTO)

Year	Office	Candidate	[LOWER] EI - Spanish Surname (SSTO)	[UPPER] EI - Spanish Surname (SSTO)
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	10.0	40.4
		Garza	59.5	90.6
	County Judge	Henry	27.1	37.7
		King	63.8	73.0
	Governor	Abbott	34.3	41.0
		O'Rourke	58.0	64.8
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	8.9	44.8
		Collier	56.0	91.4
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	25.1	38.5
		Williams	61.9	76.2
	District 122 Judge	Jones	24.7	37.6
		Walsdorf	63.5	75.8
	District Attorney	Roady	24.3	36.4
		Dragony	63.2	75.9
2020	County Sheriff	Trochesset	37.1	46.2
		Salinas	54.4	62.8
	President	Trump	5.3	45.3
		Biden	57.6	94.7
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	30.2	41.4
		Hegar	60.9	70.6

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	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	37.0	43.7
		Bell	55.7	61.6
	District 405 Judge	Robinson	27.6	40.8
		Hudson	59.1	74.6
	District 56 Judge	Cox	27.5	41.2
		Lindsey	58.4	72.3
2018	Attorney General	Paxton	7.5	17.7
		Nelson	82.1	93.3
	Governor	Abbott	22.9	34.5
		Valdez	65.4	78.2
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	7.1	29.8
		Collier	72.4	93.4
	U.S. Senate	Cruz	5.6	30.5
		O'Rourke	75.8	92.5
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	7.6	15.0
		Bell	84.8	92.3
2016	President	Trump	0.0	1.1
		Clinton	86.6	99.9
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #5	Green	27.0	31.6
		Garza	91.2	99.8
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	28.5	34.5
		Cole	65.0	72.4

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	District 10 Judge	Neves	29.0	34.2
		Walker	65.4	70.7
2014	Attorney General	Paxton	15.3	17.3
		Houston	82.7	84.5
	County Commissioner, Precinct #4	Clark	0.0	0.2
		Hutchins	70.2	99.8
	Governor	Abbott	13.7	18.4
		Davis	81.9	87.0
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	12.6	16.5
		Van De Putte	83.6	87.6
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	11.0	17.5
		Alameel	83.2	89.0
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #7	Boyd	13.3	14.1
		Benavides	84.0	86.6
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	11.2	16.7
		Brown	83.6	88.4

Table 5: Galveston County Ecological Inference (EI) Candidate Choice Confidence Intervals (Estimated Actual Vote)

Year	Office	Candidate	[LOWER] EI - Anglo Voters	[UPPER] EI - Anglo Voters	[LOWER] EI - Hispanic Voters	[UPPER] EI - Hispanic Voters	[LOWER] EI - Black Voters	[UPPER] EI - Black Voters
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	79.4	81.4	12.0	39.2	0.3	1.7
		Garza	18.5	20.4	56.6	86.8	97.9	99.7
	County Judge	Henry	81.6	83.6	12.3	42.3	0.3	2.1
		King	16.5	18.6	61.4	86.3	99.4	99.7
	Governor	Abbott	79.9	81.7	20.0	41.5	0.3	0.7
		O'Rourke	18.2	20.2	52.8	86.0	99.1	99.6
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	79.3	81.3	12.7	41.5	0.0	0.7
		Collier	18.7	20.7	56.5	85.9	97.5	99.5
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	81.4	83.4	12.9	44.8	0.3	0.6
		Williams	16.2	18.3	59.1	87.9	98.3	99.7
	District 122 Judge	Jones	81.2	83.4	13.9	39.8	0.3	2.3
		Walsdorf	16.6	19.0	64.0	86.3	97.8	99.6
	District Attorney	Roady	82.4	84.8	15.2	34.5	0.5	1.1
		Dragony	15.2	17.6	63.4	85.4	97.5	99.4
2020	County Sheriff	Trochesset	81.7	84.1	10.9	34.3	0.1	0.9
		Salinas	16.0	18.3	64.1	87.3	98.0	99.7
	President	Trump	79.1	81.4	23.7	25.8	0.4	1.6
		Biden	18.6	20.5	74.4	76.3	98.9	99.5
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	81.1	83.4	14.1	34.9	0.3	0.7
		Hegar	16.4	18.6	69.2	86.4	99.4	99.7

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Year	Office	Candidate						
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	81.8	84.0	10.6	35.2	0.4	2.8
		Bell	15.8	18.2	59.7	88.1	98.8	99.5
	District 405 Judge	Robinson	81.7	83.5	13.3	37.6	0.3	0.6
		Hudson	16.5	18.5	64.6	88.8	98.9	99.6
	District 56 Judge	Cox	82.9	84.9	16.0	37.7	0.6	1.7
		Lindsey	15.0	17.3	59.8	84.1	98.8	99.4
2018	Attorney General	Paxton	78.4	80.3	13.7	14.4	0.7	2.7
		Nelson	19.6	21.7	85.6	86.0	99.0	99.4
	Governor	Abbott	83.7	85.8	9.2	24.0	0.3	1.4
		Valdez	14.0	16.0	74.7	92.9	97.5	99.9
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	79.5	81.9	7.0	25.2	0.3	1.4
		Collier	18.5	20.4	76.8	93.0	98.3	99.7
	U.S. Senate	Cruz	78.5	80.3	5.9	27.7	0.5	1.4
		O'Rourke	19.3	21.3	75.8	92.5	97.7	99.6
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	81.2	82.7	8.5	24.0	0.2	1.4
		Bell	17.1	19.3	76.7	93.2	99.3	99.8
2016	President	Trump	79.9	81.3	8.1	26.6	0.4	1.0
		Clinton	18.7	20.1	71.4	92.3	99.6	99.8
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #5	Green	82.1	83.6	8.3	25.1	0.1	1.0
		Garza	16.4	17.9	75.3	92.0	99.4	99.9
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	82.1	83.8	8.9	25.5	0.0	0.2
		Cole	16.4	17.3	77.3	91.2	99.7	99.8
	District 10 Judge	Neves	82.7	84.0	8.1	30.3	0.0	0.1

		Walker	16.1	17.8	71.5	92.0	99.7	99.8
2014	Attorney General	Paxton	81.6	83.3	7.6	22.3	0.1	0.5
		Houston	16.7	18.9	75.6	93.3	99.5	99.9
	County Commissioner, Precinct #4	Clark	86.5	87.4	33.6	41.5	0.0	0.2
		Hutchins	12.2	13.4	57.3	67.2	98.2	99.9
	Governor	Abbott	80.5	82.4	5.0	22.7	0.0	0.0
		Davis	17.7	19.5	79.8	93.5	99.8	100.0
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	80.9	83.0	6.0	21.1	0.1	1.6
		Van De Putte	17.2	18.9	76.5	96.4	99.9	99.9
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	83.9	86.3	5.9	17.0	0.1	0.5
		Alameel	13.8	16.0	80.6	93.5	99.6	99.9
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #7	Boyd	81.3	83.6	7.0	23.3	0.1	1.5
		Benavides	16.5	18.4	77.2	93.1	98.9	99.9
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	83.0	85.5	5.6	23.4	0.1	0.5
		Brown	14.8	16.6	80.1	94.5	99.1	99.9

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Table 6: Galveston County EI Rows by Columns (RxC) Candidate Choice Confidence Intervals (CVAP)

Year	Office	Candidate	[LOWER] RxC - Anglo (CVAP)	[UPPER] RxC - Anglo (CVAP)	[LOWER] RxC - Non-Anglo (CVAP)	[UPPER] RxC - Non-Anglo (CVAP)	[LOWER] RxC - Anglo (CVAP)	[UPPER] RxC - Anglo (CVAP)	[LOWER] RxC - Hispanic (CVAP)	[UPPER] RxC - Hispanic (CVAP)	[LOWER] RxC - Black (CVAP)	[UPPER] RxC - Black (CVAP)
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	82.7	88.7	10.7	22.7	78.1	86.1	19.3	47.1	3.1	13.7
		Garza	11.3	17.3	77.3	89.3	13.9	21.9	52.9	80.7	86.3	96.9
	County Judge	Henry	84.4	89.8	13.4	24.4	80.5	87.4	22.4	46.4	3.1	12.8
		King	10.2	15.6	75.6	86.6	12.6	19.5	53.6	77.6	87.2	96.9
	Governor	Abbott	83.0	88.7	11.3	22.9	78.7	86.1	21.3	47.9	2.7	12.7
		O'Rourke	11.3	17.0	77.1	88.6	13.9	21.3	52.1	78.6	87.4	97.3
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	82.9	88.4	10.7	21.9	78.1	85.1	20.5	44.9	3.4	14.1
		Collier	11.6	17.1	78.1	89.3	14.9	21.9	55.1	79.5	85.9	96.6
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	83.7	89.9	13.4	26.0	79.6	87.6	24.4	50.4	3.0	11.9
		Williams	10.1	16.3	74.0	86.6	12.3	20.4	49.6	75.6	88.0	97.0
	District 122 Judge	Jones	84.5	89.8	13.0	24.0	80.9	87.6	21.4	46.2	2.9	12.8
		Walsdorf	10.2	15.5	76.0	87.0	12.4	19.1	53.8	78.6	87.2	97.1
	District Attorney	Roady	84.8	90.6	15.0	26.7	81.4	88.3	25.2	51.0	3.4	13.9
		Dragony	9.4	15.2	73.3	85.0	11.7	18.6	49.0	74.8	86.1	96.6
2020	County Sheriff	Trochesset	85.1	90.6	11.0	21.6	81.5	88.9	17.8	42.0	3.3	13.4
		Salinas	9.4	14.9	78.3	89.0	11.1	18.5	58.0	82.2	86.6	96.7
	President	Trump	83.2	88.4	9.7	19.5	77.4	85.9	17.9	45.1	3.1	13.3
		Biden	11.6	16.8	80.5	90.3	14.1	22.6	54.9	82.1	86.7	96.9
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	84.3	89.7	11.8	22.2	79.4	87.7	18.7	46.8	3.0	13.0
		Hegar	10.3	15.7	77.8	88.2	12.3	20.6	53.2	81.3	87.0	97.0

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	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	84.9	90.0	12.6	22.4	82.0	88.1	18.8	41.3	3.2	13.1
		Bell	10.0	15.1	77.6	87.4	11.9	18.0	58.7	81.2	86.9	96.8
	District 405 Judge	Robinson	84.6	90.0	11.8	22.1	81.6	88.1	19.3	41.2	3.0	12.2
		Hudson	10.0	15.4	77.8	88.2	11.9	18.4	58.8	80.7	87.8	97.0
	District 56 Judge	Cox	85.4	90.8	13.6	24.0	80.8	88.8	22.6	47.2	3.0	13.2
		Lindsey	9.2	14.6	76.0	86.4	11.2	19.2	52.8	77.4	86.8	97.0
2018	Attorney General	Paxton	82.6	86.9	6.2	14.6	78.8	84.6	9.0	28.6	3.1	12.9
		Nelson	13.2	17.4	85.4	93.8	15.4	21.2	71.4	91.0	87.1	96.9
	Governor	Abbott	87.0	91.4	11.3	20.2	84.0	89.6	13.2	34.3	3.0	14.0
		Valdez	8.6	13.1	79.8	88.7	10.4	16.0	65.7	86.8	86.0	97.0
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	83.5	87.7	7.6	16.1	79.3	85.6	9.5	30.7	3.5	13.7
		Collier	12.3	16.5	83.9	92.3	14.4	20.7	69.3	90.5	86.3	96.5
	U.S. Senate	Cruz	82.5	86.8	6.2	15.0	79.0	84.4	9.5	29.0	2.8	12.3
		O'Rourke	13.2	17.5	85.0	93.8	15.6	21.0	71.0	90.5	87.7	97.2
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	84.6	89.0	7.9	16.7	80.8	86.7	10.2	30.5	3.3	13.1
		Bell	11.0	15.4	83.3	92.1	13.3	19.2	69.5	89.8	86.9	96.7
2016	President	Trump	85.3	89.5	7.6	16.2	82.3	87.2	11.2	30.9	3.0	14.4
		Clinton	10.5	14.7	83.8	92.4	12.8	17.7	69.1	88.8	85.6	97.0
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #5	Green	86.7	91.4	9.5	19.2	84.6	89.9	9.8	29.9	4.0	14.8
		Garza	8.6	13.3	80.8	90.5	10.1	15.4	70.1	90.2	85.2	96.0
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	87.0	91.2	10.7	19.6	83.8	89.5	12.2	33.8	3.9	14.8
		Cole	8.8	13.1	80.4	89.3	10.5	16.2	66.2	87.8	85.2	96.2

Year	Office	Candidate										
	District 10 Judge	Neves	87.4	91.6	10.4	19.2	84.8	90.0	11.1	31.7	3.6	14.1
		Walker	8.4	12.6	80.8	89.6	10.0	15.2	68.3	88.9	85.9	96.4
2014	Attorney General	Paxton	85.4	90.0	11.6	21.0	82.9	88.5	14.3	37.8	4.3	15.2
		Houston	10.0	14.5	79.0	88.4	11.5	17.1	62.2	85.7	84.8	95.7
	County Commissioner, Precinct #4	Clark	77.6	95.8	19.5	71.8	80.3	94.2	15.3	75.8	12.0	77.7
		Hutchins	4.2	22.4	28.2	80.5	5.8	19.7	24.2	84.7	22.3	88.0
	Governor	Abbott	84.0	88.9	10.2	20.4	81.1	86.5	10.7	34.4	3.5	14.9
		Davis	11.1	16.0	79.6	89.8	13.5	18.9	65.6	89.3	85.1	96.5
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	85.3	89.8	9.3	18.8	82.0	87.3	11.1	34.3	3.7	13.8
		Van De Putte	10.2	14.7	81.2	90.7	12.7	18.0	65.7	88.9	86.2	96.3
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	88.8	92.9	14.3	22.9	87.2	91.5	13.2	33.1	4.7	17.1
		Alameel	7.1	11.2	77.1	85.7	8.5	12.8	66.9	86.8	82.9	95.3
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #7	Boyd	86.2	90.3	11.2	19.8	83.2	88.4	10.4	33.5	4.0	14.7
		Benavides	9.7	13.8	80.2	88.8	11.6	16.8	66.4	89.6	85.3	96.0
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	87.9	92.2	12.4	21.3	86.2	90.8	11.9	32.0	4.7	15.7
		Brown	7.8	12.1	78.7	87.6	9.2	13.8	68.0	88.1	84.3	95.3

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Table 7: Galveston County EI Rows by Columns (RxC) Candidate Choice Confidence Intervals (SSTO)

Year	Office	Candidate	[LOWER] RxC - Spanish Surname (SSTO)	[UPPER] RxC - Spanish Surname (SSTO)
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	14.1	58.3
		Garza	41.7	85.9
	County Judge	Henry	13.6	59.6
		King	40.4	86.4
	Governor	Abbott	10.3	56.8
		O'Rourke	43.2	89.7
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	10.2	55.2
		Collier	44.8	89.8
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	13.3	58.9
		Williams	41.1	86.7
	District 122 Judge	Jones	11.1	61.9
		Walsdorf	38.1	88.9
	District Attorney	Roady	12.2	56.0
		Dragony	44.0	87.8
2020	County Sheriff	Trochesset	10.9	57.5
		Salinas	42.5	89.1
	President	Trump	12.4	59.5
		Biden	40.5	87.6
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	13.1	57.3

		Hegar	42.7	86.9
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	10.8	57.8
		Bell	42.2	89.2
	District 405 Judge	Robinson	11.4	55.8
		Hudson	44.2	88.6
	District 56 Judge	Cox	13.3	59.1
		Lindsey	40.9	86.7
2018	Attorney General	Paxton	9.9	50.9
		Nelson	49.1	90.1
	Governor	Abbott	9.7	52.9
		Valdez	47.1	90.3
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	9.6	44.5
		Collier	55.5	90.4
	U.S. Senate	Cruz	10.1	45.9
		O'Rourke	54.1	89.9
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	9.4	50.8
		Bell	49.2	90.6
2016	President	Trump	7.7	49.9
		Clinton	50.1	92.3
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #5	Green	9.0	48.1
		Garza	51.9	91.0
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	10.1	51.1
		Cole	48.9	89.9

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	District 10 Judge	Neves	10.0	51.3
		Walker	48.7	90.0
2014	Attorney General	Paxton	6.8	42.2
		Houston	57.8	93.2
	County Commissioner, Precinct #4	Clark	14.2	81.5
		Hutchins	18.5	85.8
	Governor	Abbott	9.1	45.8
		Davis	54.2	90.9
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	8.3	43.9
		Van De Putte	56.1	91.7
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	8.3	41.4
		Alameel	58.6	91.7
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #7	Boyd	9.3	40.4
		Benavides	59.6	90.7
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	10.0	44.0
		Brown	56.0	90.0

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Table 8: Galveston County EI Rows by Columns (RxC) Candidate Choice Confidence Intervals (Estimated Actual Vote)

Year	Office	Candidate	[LOWER] RxC - Anglo Voters	[UPPER] RxC - Anglo Voters	[LOWER] RxC - Hispanic Voters	[UPPER] RxC - Hispanic Voters	[LOWER] RxC - Black Voters	[UPPER] RxC - Black Voters
2022	Attorney General	Paxton	74.7	80.0	12.9	44.1	2.7	11.9
		Garza	20.0	25.4	55.9	87.1	88.1	97.3
	County Judge	Henry	76.3	82.0	12.7	46.2	3.3	13.2
		King	18.0	23.7	53.8	87.3	86.8	96.7
	Governor	Abbott	74.4	80.5	13.2	44.4	2.4	10.7
		O'Rourke	19.5	25.6	55.6	86.9	89.3	97.7
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	74.0	79.8	14.8	46.9	2.4	10.8
		Collier	20.2	26.0	53.1	85.2	89.2	97.7
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	76.7	82.3	14.7	49.1	2.9	12.3
		Williams	17.7	23.3	50.9	85.3	87.7	97.1
	District 122 Judge	Jones	76.8	81.9	13.7	43.4	2.8	11.2
		Walsdorf	18.1	23.2	56.6	86.3	88.8	97.2
	District Attorney	Roady	77.7	83.2	14.5	47.0	3.2	12.9
		Dragony	16.8	22.3	53.0	85.5	87.1	96.8
2020	County Sheriff	Trochesset	76.9	82.5	12.9	43.2	2.9	13.0
		Salinas	17.5	23.1	56.8	87.1	87.0	97.1
	President	Trump	73.7	80.3	12.4	45.5	2.8	11.0
		Biden	19.7	26.3	54.5	87.6	89.0	97.2
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	76.7	82.2	12.8	45.0	2.8	11.7
		Hegar	17.8	23.3	55.0	87.2	88.3	97.2

Year	Office	Candidate						
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	77.5	82.7	13.9	41.6	2.7	12.5
		Bell	17.3	22.5	58.4	86.1	87.5	97.3
	District 405 Judge	Robinson	77.6	83.1	8.7	38.0	2.9	12.5
		Hudson	16.9	22.4	62.1	91.3	87.5	97.1
	District 56 Judge	Cox	77.8	83.6	15.6	45.9	3.0	12.7
		Lindsey	16.4	22.2	54.1	84.4	87.4	97.0
2018	Attorney General	Paxton	73.5	78.7	7.8	33.5	2.5	11.2
		Nelson	21.3	26.5	66.5	92.2	88.8	97.5
	Governor	Abbott	79.4	84.5	8.3	34.9	3.4	13.4
		Valdez	15.5	20.6	65.1	91.7	86.6	96.6
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	74.7	80.1	7.9	32.2	3.2	12.8
		Collier	19.9	25.3	67.8	92.1	87.2	96.8
	U.S. Senate	Cruz	73.7	79.0	6.9	33.8	2.3	11.5
		O'Rourke	21.0	26.3	66.2	93.1	88.5	97.7
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	76.5	81.6	7.6	31.3	2.3	10.0
		Bell	18.4	23.5	68.7	92.4	90.0	97.7
2016	President	Trump	76.8	80.2	6.8	28.6	2.4	10.8
		Clinton	19.8	23.2	71.4	93.2	89.2	97.6
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #5	Green	79.2	82.6	6.9	27.2	2.7	11.9
		Garza	17.4	20.8	72.8	93.1	88.0	97.3
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	79.3	82.9	7.4	30.4	2.0	9.3
		Cole	17.1	20.7	69.6	92.6	90.7	98.0

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	District 10 Judge	Neves	79.3	83.1	7.4	29.5	2.6	11.3
		Walker	16.9	20.7	70.5	92.6	88.7	97.4
2014	Attorney General	Paxton	78.3	82.3	7.8	30.5	2.9	12.5
		Houston	17.7	21.7	69.5	92.2	87.5	97.1
	County Commissioner, Precinct #4	Clark	80.0	90.1	12.6	76.2	10.9	76.9
		Hutchins	9.9	20.0	23.8	87.4	23.1	89.1
	Governor	Abbott	76.7	80.9	6.8	31.3	2.5	10.5
		Davis	19.1	23.3	68.7	93.2	89.5	97.5
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	77.3	81.9	5.4	32.6	2.4	11.5
		Van De Putte	18.1	22.7	67.4	94.6	88.5	97.6
	U.S. Senate	Cornyn	81.7	85.7	6.9	35.3	3.0	12.9
		Alameel	14.3	18.3	64.7	93.1	87.1	97.0
	Supreme Court Justice, Position #7	Boyd	78.4	82.9	5.9	30.1	2.7	12.6
		Benavides	17.1	21.6	69.9	94.1	87.4	97.3
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	80.6	84.7	6.3	32.0	3.3	13.4
		Brown	15.3	19.4	68.0	93.7	86.6	96.7

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Appendix B: Performance Analysis of Additional Maps

Table 1: Performance Analysis of Plaintiff Proposed Map A

			Plaintiff (Rush) Proposed Map A			
			1	2	3	4
	Anglo CVAP		68.8%	73.6%	40.4%	69.6%
	Black CVAP		9.4%	6.0%	30.5%	7.2%
	Hispanic CVAP		18.5%	15.5%	26.1%	16.7%
	Other CVAP		3.3%	4.9%	3.0%	6.5%
2022	Governor	Abbott	63.6%	70.5%	39.9%	68.8%
		O'Rourke	36.4%	29.5%	60.1%	31.2%
	Attorney General	Paxton	63.4%	70.4%	39.5%	68.5%
		Garza	36.6%	29.6%	60.5%	31.5%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	63.3%	70.1%	39.5%	68.2%
		Collier	36.7%	29.9%	60.5%	31.8%
	County Judge	Henry	65.3%	71.4%	40.7%	70.9%
		King	34.7%	28.6%	59.3%	29.1%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	65.3%	71.8%	41.1%	70.5%
		Williams	34.7%	28.2%	58.9%	29.5%
	District Judge #122	Jones	65.1%	71.7%	40.6%	70.5%
		Walsdorf	34.9%	28.3%	59.4%	29.5%
	District Attorney	Roady	66.1%	72.8%	41.9%	71.6%
		Dragony	33.9%	27.2%	58.1%	28.4%
2020	President	Trump	62.9%	69.5%	38.4%	67.7%
		Biden	37.1%	30.5%	61.6%	32.3%

Year	Office	Candidate				
	Senate	Cornyn	64.8%	70.9%	38.8%	70.1%
		Hegar	35.2%	29.1%	61.2%	29.9%
	Sheriff	Trochesset	64.7%	71.7%	39.3%	70.2%
		Salinas	35.3%	28.3%	60.7%	29.8%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	65.1%	71.4%	39.0%	70.9%
		Bell	34.9%	28.6%	61.0%	29.1%
2018	Senate	Cruz	60.6%	68.5%	35.1%	68.1%
		O'Rourke	39.4%	31.5%	64.9%	31.9%
	Governor	Abbott	65.4%	73.1%	39.0%	73.5%
		Valdez	34.6%	26.9%	61.0%	26.5%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	61.8%	69.4%	36.1%	69.1%
		Collier	38.2%	30.6%	63.9%	30.9%
	Attorney General	Paxton	60.8%	68.1%	34.7%	68.5%
		Nelson	39.2%	31.9%	65.3%	31.5%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	62.6%	70.4%	35.9%	70.9%
		Bell	37.4%	29.6%	64.1%	29.1%
2016	President	Clinton	35.8%	28.7%	63.5%	28.3%
		Trump	64.2%	71.3%	36.5%	71.7%
	Supreme Court, Position #5	Green	66.3%	72.8%	36.1%	75.1%
		Garza	33.7%	27.2%	63.9%	24.9%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	66.7%	72.3%	37.5%	75.3%
		Cole	33.3%	27.7%	62.5%	24.7%
2014	Senate	Cornyn	69.0%	75.2%	37.5%	79.5%

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	Alameel	31.0%	24.8%	62.5%	20.5%
U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	67.9%	74.0%	36.5%	78.5%
	Brown	32.1%	26.0%	63.5%	21.5%
Governor	Abbott	64.6%	70.7%	34.3%	75.6%
	Davis	35.4%	29.3%	65.7%	24.4%
Lt. Governor	Patrick	64.9%	71.4%	35.0%	75.4%
	Van De Putte	35.1%	28.6%	65.0%	24.6%
Attorney General	Paxton	65.9%	72.1%	34.7%	77.0%
	Houston	34.1%	27.9%	65.3%	23.0%
Supreme Court, Position #7	Boyd	66.1%	72.2%	34.3%	77.3%
	Benavides	33.9%	27.8%	65.7%	22.7%

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Table 2: Performance Analysis of Plaintiff Proposed Map B

| | | | Plaintiff (Rush) Proposed Map B | | | |
			1	2	3	4
	Anglo CVAP		68.9%	73.6%	40.0%	70.3%
	Black CVAP		9.2%	6.0%	30.7%	6.9%
	Hispanic CVAP		18.6%	15.5%	26.3%	16.1%
	Other CVAP		3.3%	4.9%	2.9%	6.7%
2022	Governor	Abbott	64.9%	70.5%	39.4%	68.9%
		O'Rourke	35.1%	29.5%	60.6%	31.1%
	Attorney General	Paxton	64.8%	70.4%	38.9%	68.7%
		Garza	35.2%	29.6%	61.1%	31.3%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	64.7%	70.1%	39.0%	68.3%
		Collier	35.3%	29.9%	61.0%	31.7%
	County Judge	Henry	66.7%	71.4%	40.2%	71.1%
		King	33.3%	28.6%	59.8%	28.9%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	66.6%	71.8%	40.6%	70.6%
		Williams	33.4%	28.2%	59.4%	29.4%
	District Judge #122	Jones	66.5%	71.7%	40.1%	70.6%
		Walsdorf	33.5%	28.3%	59.9%	29.4%
	District Attorney	Roady	67.5%	72.8%	41.4%	71.8%
		Dragony	32.5%	27.2%	58.6%	28.2%
2020	President	Trump	64.5%	69.5%	37.7%	67.9%
		Biden	35.5%	30.5%	62.3%	32.1%

	Senate	Cornyn	66.3%	70.9%	38.2%	70.3%
		Hegar	33.7%	29.1%	61.8%	29.7%
	Sheriff	Trochesset	66.2%	71.7%	38.8%	70.4%
		Salinas	33.8%	28.3%	61.2%	29.6%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	66.6%	71.4%	38.4%	71.1%
		Bell	33.4%	28.6%	61.6%	28.9%
2018	Senate	Cruz	62.4%	68.5%	34.3%	68.3%
		O'Rourke	37.6%	31.5%	65.7%	31.7%
	Governor	Abbott	67.2%	73.1%	38.2%	73.7%
		Valdez	32.8%	26.9%	61.8%	26.3%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	63.6%	69.4%	35.3%	69.3%
		Collier	36.4%	30.6%	64.7%	30.7%
	Attorney General	Paxton	62.7%	68.1%	33.9%	68.7%
		Nelson	37.3%	31.9%	66.1%	31.3%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	64.5%	70.4%	35.1%	71.1%
		Bell	35.5%	29.6%	64.9%	28.9%
2016	President	Clinton	33.7%	28.7%	64.4%	28.0%
		Trump	66.3%	71.3%	35.6%	72.0%
	Supreme Court, Position #5	Green	68.4%	72.8%	35.3%	75.3%
		Garza	31.6%	27.2%	64.7%	24.7%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	68.7%	72.3%	36.7%	75.6%
		Cole	31.3%	27.7%	63.3%	24.4%

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2014	Senate	Cornyn	71.8%	75.2%	36.3%	79.7%
		Alameel	28.2%	24.8%	63.7%	20.3%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	70.7%	74.0%	35.3%	78.8%
		Brown	29.3%	26.0%	64.7%	21.2%
	Governor	Abbott	67.4%	70.7%	33.2%	75.8%
		Davis	32.6%	29.3%	66.8%	24.2%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	67.6%	71.4%	33.9%	75.7%
		Van De Putte	32.4%	28.6%	66.1%	24.3%
	Attorney General	Paxton	68.7%	72.1%	33.6%	77.2%
		Houston	31.3%	27.9%	66.4%	22.8%
	Supreme Court, Position #7	Boyd	68.9%	72.2%	33.1%	77.6%
		Benavides	31.1%	27.8%	66.9%	22.4%

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Table 3: Performance Analysis of Plaintiff Proposed Map C

			Plaintiff (Rush) Proposed Map C		
		1	2	3	4
Anglo CVAP		69.0%	72.6%	38.1%	69.4%
Black CVAP		9.1%	6.4%	32.8%	7.4%
Hispanic CVAP		18.5%	16.1%	26.3%	16.8%
Other CVAP		3.3%	4.9%	2.8%	6.4%
2022 Governor	Abbott	65.0%	68.6%	37.3%	68.7%
	O'Rourke	35.0%	31.4%	62.7%	31.3%
Attorney General	Paxton	64.8%	68.4%	36.9%	68.5%
	Garza	35.2%	31.6%	63.1%	31.5%
Lt. Governor	Patrick	64.8%	68.2%	37.0%	68.1%
	Collier	35.2%	31.8%	63.0%	31.9%
County Judge	Henry	66.7%	69.5%	38.1%	70.9%
	King	33.3%	30.5%	61.9%	29.1%
U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	66.7%	70.0%	38.4%	70.4%
	Williams	33.3%	30.0%	61.6%	29.6%
District Judge #122	Jones	66.5%	69.8%	37.9%	70.4%
	Walsdorf	33.5%	30.2%	62.1%	29.6%
District Attorney	Roady	67.5%	71.1%	39.0%	71.6%
	Dragony	32.5%	28.9%	61.0%	28.4%
2020 President	Trump	64.6%	67.6%	35.7%	67.7%
	Biden	35.4%	32.4%	64.3%	32.3%

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Year	Office	Candidate				
	Senate	Cornyn	66.4%	69.0%	36.0%	70.0%
		Hegar	33.6%	31.0%	64.0%	30.0%
	Sheriff	Trochesset	66.3%	69.9%	36.5%	70.2%
		Salinas	33.7%	30.1%	63.5%	29.8%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	66.7%	69.5%	36.1%	70.8%
		Bell	33.3%	30.5%	63.9%	29.2%
2018	Senate	Cruz	62.4%	66.5%	32.3%	68.1%
		O'Rourke	37.6%	33.5%	67.7%	31.9%
	Governor	Abbott	67.2%	71.0%	36.0%	73.4%
		Valdez	32.8%	29.0%	64.0%	26.6%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	63.7%	67.5%	33.2%	69.1%
		Collier	36.3%	32.5%	66.8%	30.9%
	Attorney General	Paxton	62.7%	66.1%	31.8%	68.5%
		Nelson	37.3%	33.9%	68.2%	31.5%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	64.5%	68.4%	32.9%	70.9%
		Bell	35.5%	31.6%	67.1%	29.1%
2016	President	Clinton	33.7%	30.6%	66.5%	28.3%
		Trump	66.3%	69.4%	33.5%	71.7%
	Supreme Court, Position #5	Green	68.5%	70.9%	33.1%	75.1%
		Garza	31.5%	29.1%	66.9%	24.9%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	68.8%	70.5%	34.3%	75.3%
		Cole	31.2%	29.5%	65.7%	24.7%

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2014	Senate	Cornyn	71.9%	73.5%	33.4%	79.5%
		Alameel	28.1%	26.5%	66.6%	20.5%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	70.7%	72.2%	32.6%	78.5%
		Brown	29.3%	27.8%	67.4%	21.5%
	Governor	Abbott	67.4%	68.7%	30.8%	75.6%
		Davis	32.6%	31.3%	69.2%	24.4%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	67.6%	69.4%	31.5%	75.5%
		Van De Putte	32.4%	30.6%	68.5%	24.5%
	Attorney General	Paxton	68.7%	70.2%	31.1%	77.0%
		Houston	31.3%	29.8%	68.9%	23.0%
	Supreme Court, Position #7	Boyd	69.0%	70.3%	30.7%	77.3%
		Benavides	31.0%	29.7%	69.3%	22.7%

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Table 4: Performance Analysis of Maps Proposed by Commissioner Holmes (2021)

			Commissioner Holmes Proposed Map A (Rejected)				Commissioner Holmes Proposed Map B (Rejected)			
			1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
	Anglo CVAP		68.7%	72.7%	40.4%	70.7%	68.5%	74.0%	40.0%	69.7%
	Black CVAP		9.3%	6.8%	31.3%	5.8%	9.2%	6.3%	31.5%	6.3%
	Hispanic CVAP		19.4%	16.2%	25.0%	16.3%	19.0%	15.3%	25.7%	16.8%
	Other CVAP		2.6%	4.3%	3.4%	7.2%	3.3%	4.4%	2.7%	7.2%
2022	Governor	Abbott	67.4%	68.6%	36.6%	69.2%	64.9%	70.9%	37.5%	68.5%
		O'Rourke	32.6%	31.4%	63.4%	30.8%	35.1%	29.1%	62.5%	31.5%
	Attorney General	Paxton	67.3%	68.4%	36.2%	69.0%	64.7%	70.8%	37.0%	68.4%
		Garza	32.7%	31.6%	63.8%	31.0%	35.3%	29.2%	63.0%	31.6%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	67.2%	68.2%	36.2%	68.7%	64.7%	70.5%	37.0%	68.0%
		Collier	32.8%	31.8%	63.8%	31.3%	35.3%	29.5%	63.0%	32.0%
	County Judge	Henry	69.0%	69.6%	37.6%	71.2%	66.5%	71.9%	38.3%	70.6%
		King	31.0%	30.4%	62.4%	28.8%	33.5%	28.1%	61.7%	29.4%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	69.0%	69.9%	37.9%	71.0%	66.5%	72.2%	38.7%	70.3%
		Williams	31.0%	30.1%	62.1%	29.0%	33.5%	27.8%	61.3%	29.7%
	District Judge #122	Jones	68.8%	69.7%	37.5%	70.9%	66.3%	72.1%	38.3%	70.3%
		Walsdorf	31.2%	30.3%	62.5%	29.1%	33.7%	27.9%	61.7%	29.7%
	District Attorney	Roady	69.8%	71.0%	38.6%	72.1%	67.4%	73.2%	39.6%	71.5%
		Dragony	30.2%	29.0%	61.4%	27.9%	32.6%	26.8%	60.4%	28.5%
2020	President	Trump	67.0%	68.0%	35.0%	68.1%	64.2%	70.2%	36.0%	67.5%

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Year	Office	Candidate								
		Biden	33.0%	32.0%	65.0%	31.9%	35.8%	29.8%	64.0%	32.5%
	Senate	Cornyn	68.6%	69.3%	35.7%	70.3%	65.9%	71.7%	36.5%	69.9%
		Hegar	31.4%	30.7%	64.3%	29.7%	34.1%	28.3%	63.5%	30.1%
	Sheriff	Trochesset	68.3%	70.1%	36.5%	70.6%	65.8%	72.2%	37.5%	70.1%
		Salinas	31.7%	29.9%	63.5%	29.4%	34.2%	27.8%	62.5%	29.9%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	69.1%	69.8%	35.8%	71.1%	66.3%	72.1%	36.7%	70.6%
		Bell	30.9%	30.2%	64.2%	28.9%	33.7%	27.9%	63.3%	29.4%
2018	Senate	Cruz	65.3%	66.7%	31.5%	68.4%	62.0%	69.4%	32.7%	67.9%
		O'Rourke	34.7%	33.3%	68.5%	31.6%	38.0%	30.6%	67.3%	32.1%
	Governor	Abbott	69.9%	71.2%	35.5%	73.7%	66.8%	74.0%	36.7%	73.2%
		Valdez	30.1%	28.8%	64.5%	26.3%	33.2%	26.0%	63.3%	26.8%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	66.3%	67.7%	32.6%	69.4%	63.2%	70.4%	33.8%	68.9%
		Collier	33.7%	32.3%	67.4%	30.6%	36.8%	29.6%	66.2%	31.1%
	Attorney General	Paxton	65.4%	66.3%	31.3%	68.7%	62.3%	69.1%	32.4%	68.2%
		Nelson	34.6%	33.7%	68.7%	31.3%	37.7%	30.9%	67.6%	31.8%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	67.1%	68.5%	32.5%	71.2%	64.0%	71.3%	33.7%	70.7%
		Bell	32.9%	31.5%	67.5%	28.8%	36.0%	28.7%	66.3%	29.3%
2016	President	Clinton	31.3%	30.5%	66.8%	28.0%	34.2%	27.4%	66.0%	28.6%
		Trump	68.7%	69.5%	33.2%	72.0%	65.8%	72.6%	34.0%	71.4%
	Supreme Court, Position #5	Green	70.5%	70.8%	33.2%	75.3%	67.7%	74.0%	33.8%	74.8%
		Garza	29.5%	29.2%	66.8%	24.7%	32.3%	26.0%	66.2%	25.2%

	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	70.8%	70.4%	34.8%	75.4%	68.0%	73.5%	35.4%	75.0%
		Cole	29.2%	29.6%	65.2%	24.6%	32.0%	26.5%	64.6%	25.0%
2014	Senate	Cornyn	73.9%	72.6%	34.5%	79.6%	70.9%	75.7%	35.9%	79.2%
		Alameel	26.1%	27.4%	65.5%	20.4%	29.1%	24.3%	64.1%	20.8%
	U.S. House of Reps, District #14	Weber	72.9%	71.4%	33.4%	78.5%	69.8%	74.6%	34.8%	78.2%
		Brown	27.1%	28.6%	66.6%	21.5%	30.2%	25.4%	65.2%	21.8%
	Governor	Abbott	69.7%	68.1%	31.3%	75.5%	66.4%	71.6%	32.6%	75.1%
		Davis	30.3%	31.9%	68.7%	24.5%	33.6%	28.4%	67.4%	24.9%
	Lt. Governor	Patrick	70.0%	68.9%	31.7%	75.4%	66.7%	72.3%	33.2%	75.1%
		Van De Putte	30.0%	31.1%	68.3%	24.6%	33.3%	27.7%	66.8%	24.9%
	Attorney General	Paxton	71.0%	69.4%	31.6%	77.0%	67.8%	72.9%	32.9%	76.6%
		Houston	29.0%	30.6%	68.4%	23.0%	32.2%	27.1%	67.1%	23.4%
	Supreme Court, Position #7	Boyd	71.2%	69.4%	31.2%	77.4%	68.0%	72.9%	32.5%	77.0%
		Benavides	28.8%	30.6%	68.8%	22.6%	32.0%	27.1%	67.5%	23.0%

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Appendix C: Density Plots of Ecological Inference (EI) Iterative Candidate Choice Estimates

I.   2022 Attorney General

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
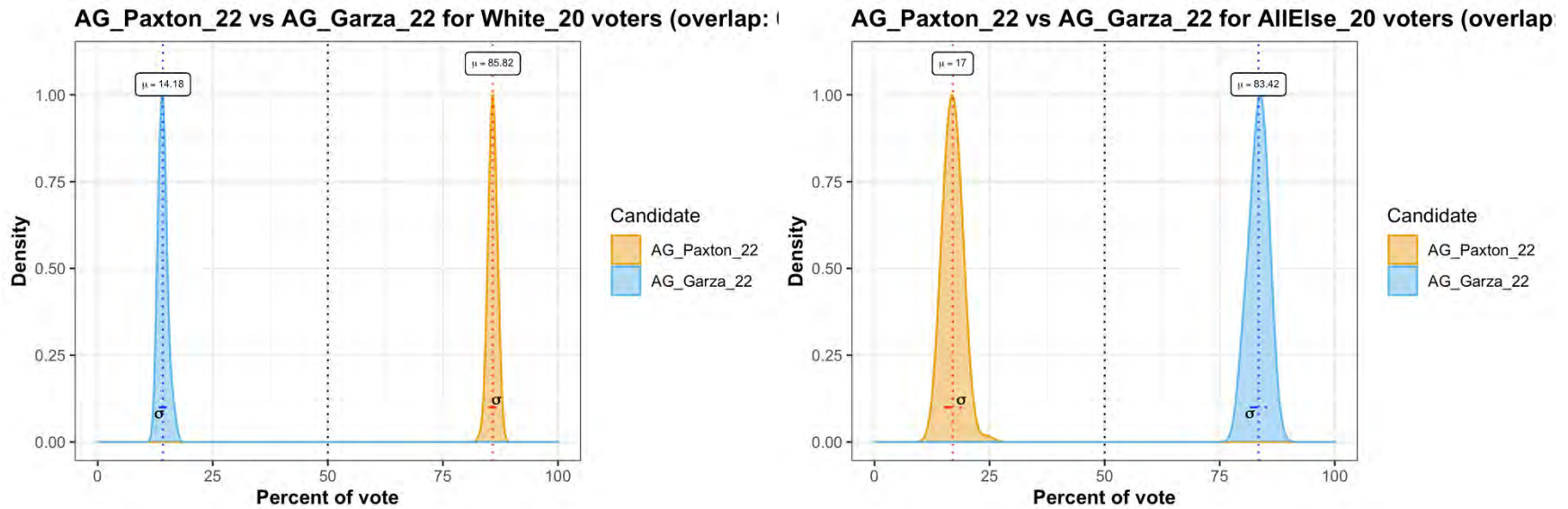
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

AG_Paxton_22 vs AG_Garza_22 for Anglo_20 voters (overlap:
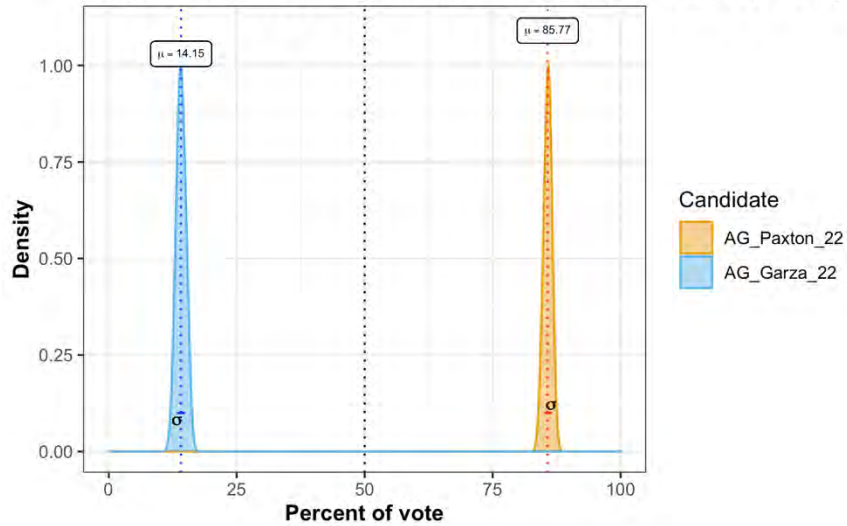
AG_Paxton_22 vs AG_Garza_22 for Hisp_20 voters (overlap: 3.
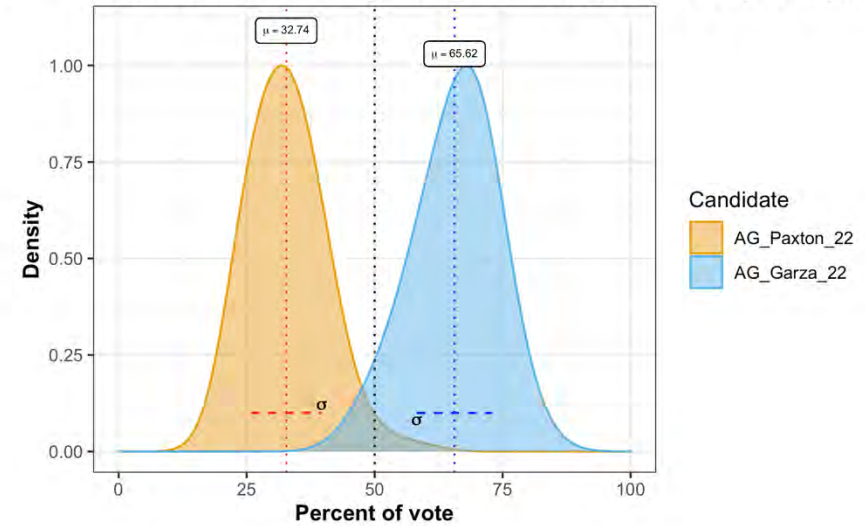
AG_Paxton_22 vs AG_Garza_22 for Black_20 voters (overlap:
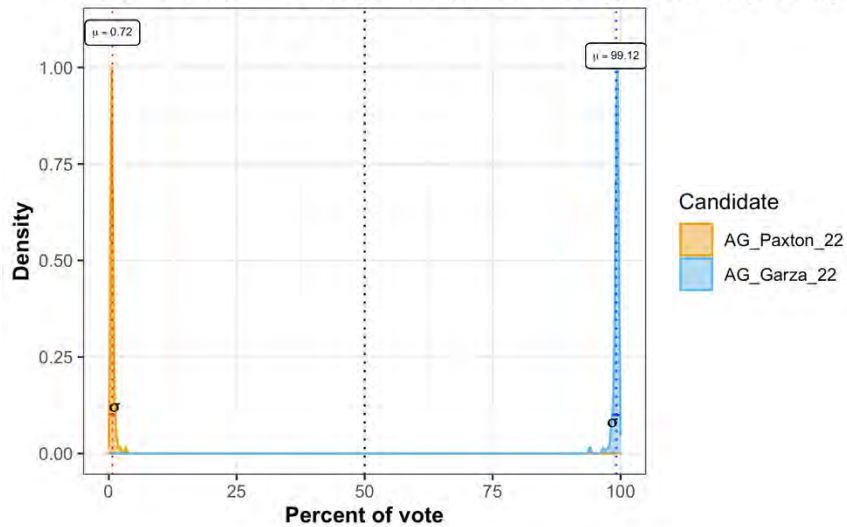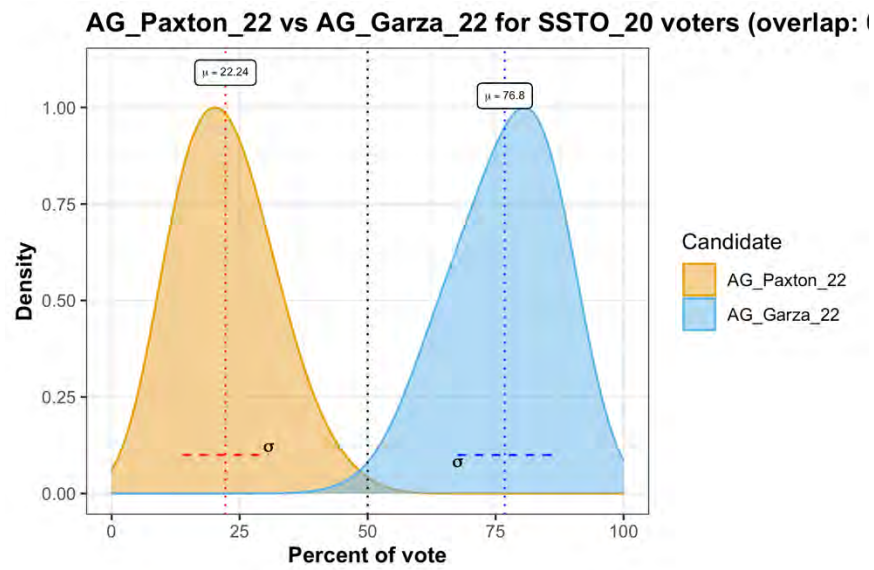
SSTO

AG_Paxton_22 vs AG_Garza_22 for SSTO_20 voters (overlap: ...)

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
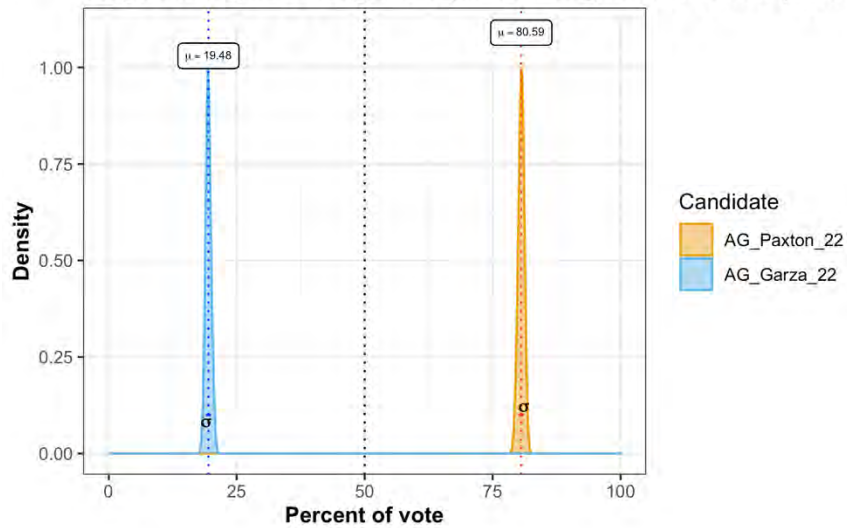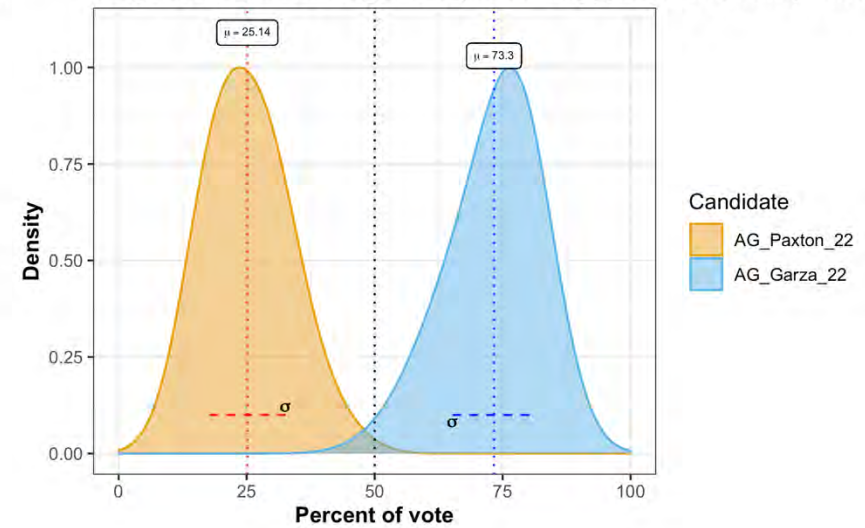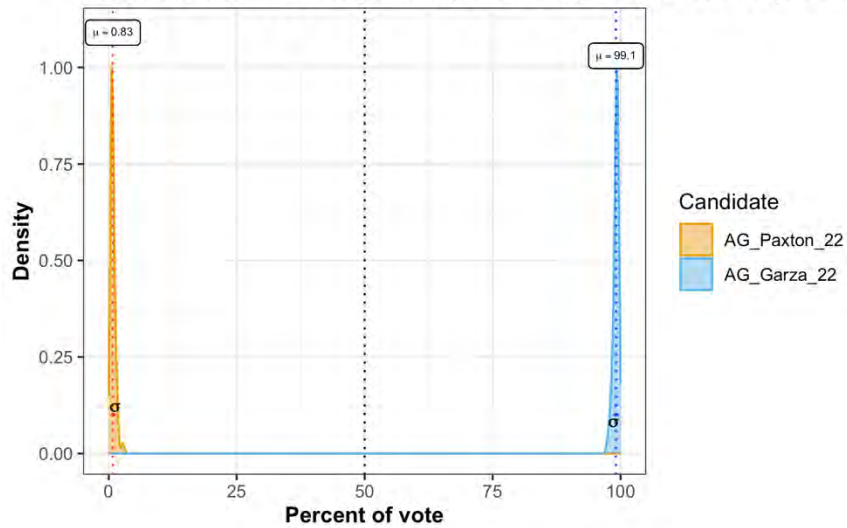
II.   2022 County Judge

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
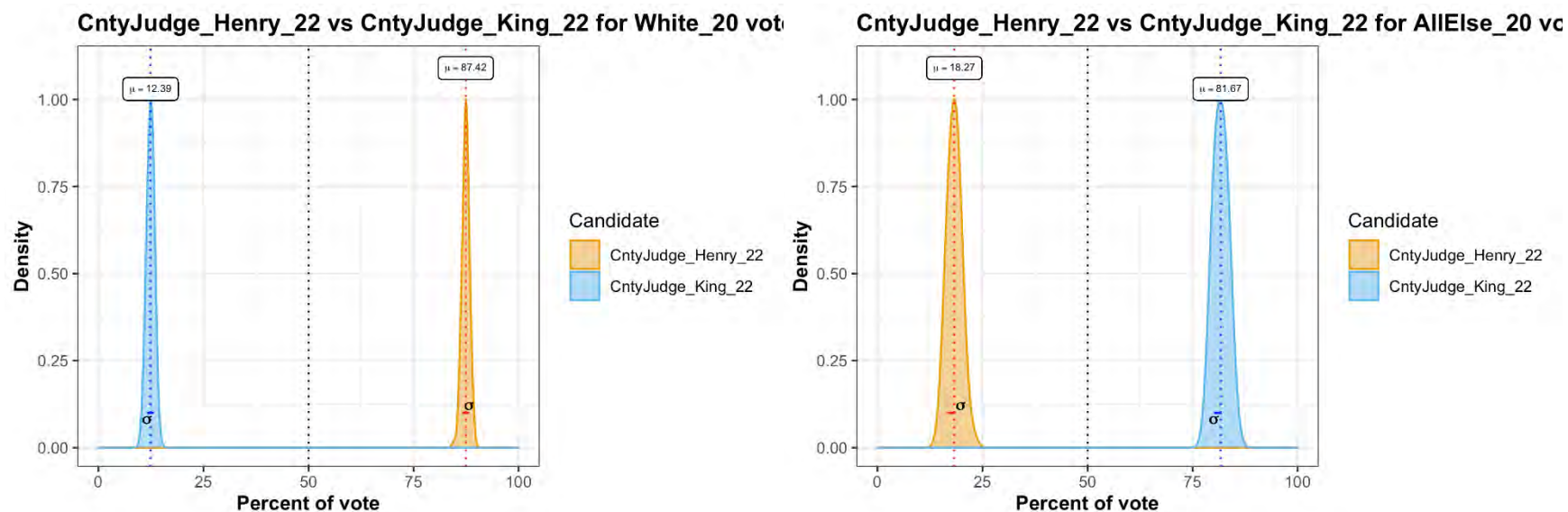
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
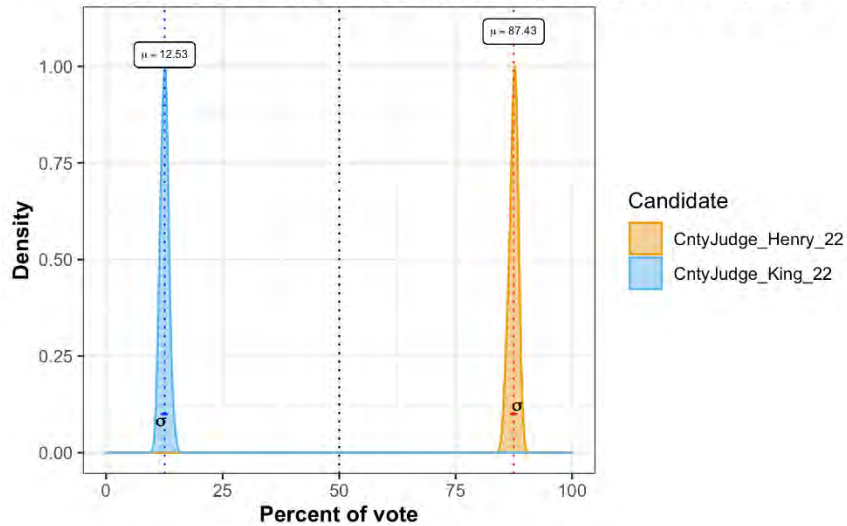
CntyJudge_Henry_22 vs CntyJudge_King_22 for Wht_Vote22
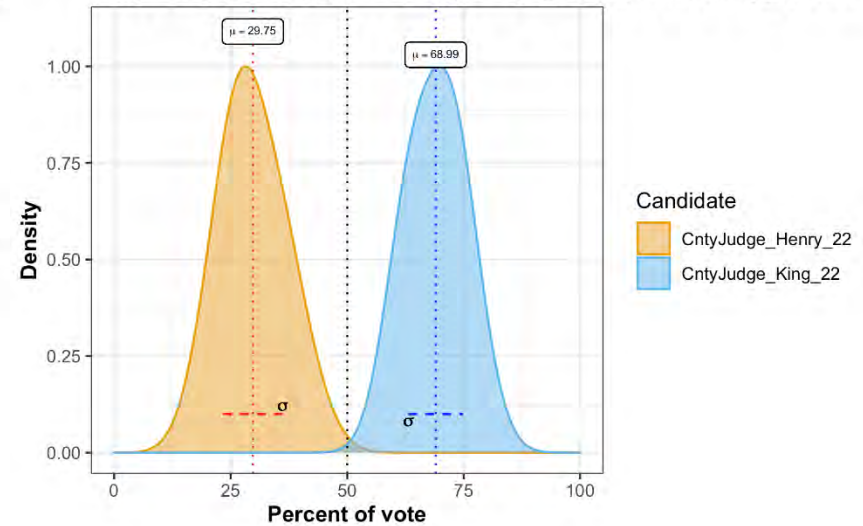
CntyJudge_Henry_22 vs CntyJudge_King_22 for Hsp_Vote22

CntyJudge_Henry_22 vs CntyJudge_King_22 for Blk_Vote22
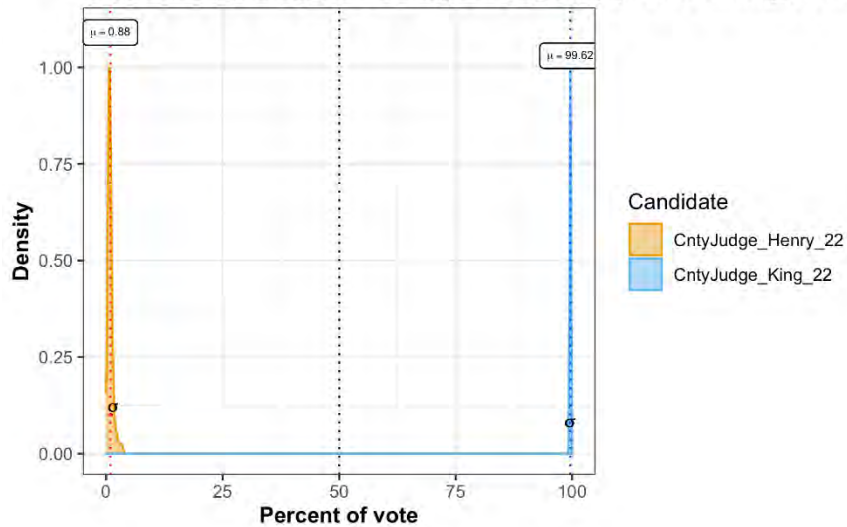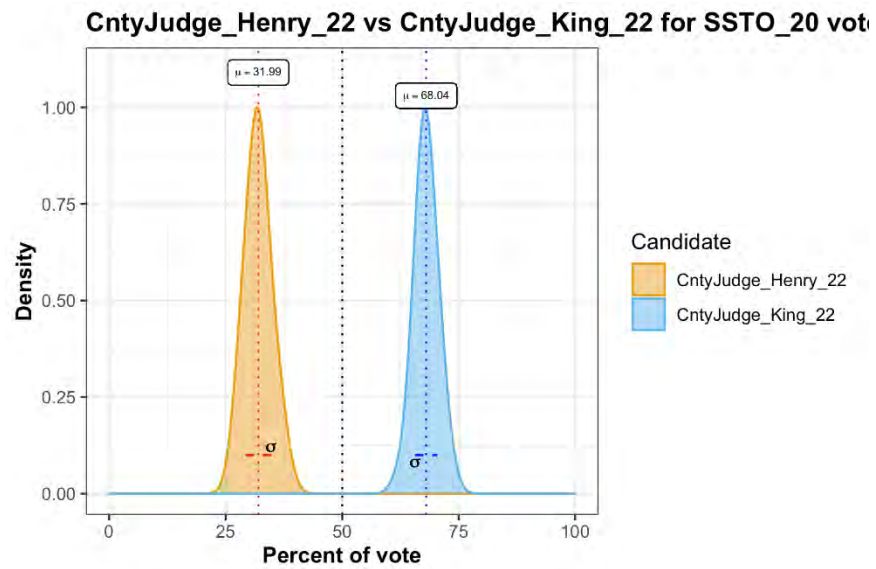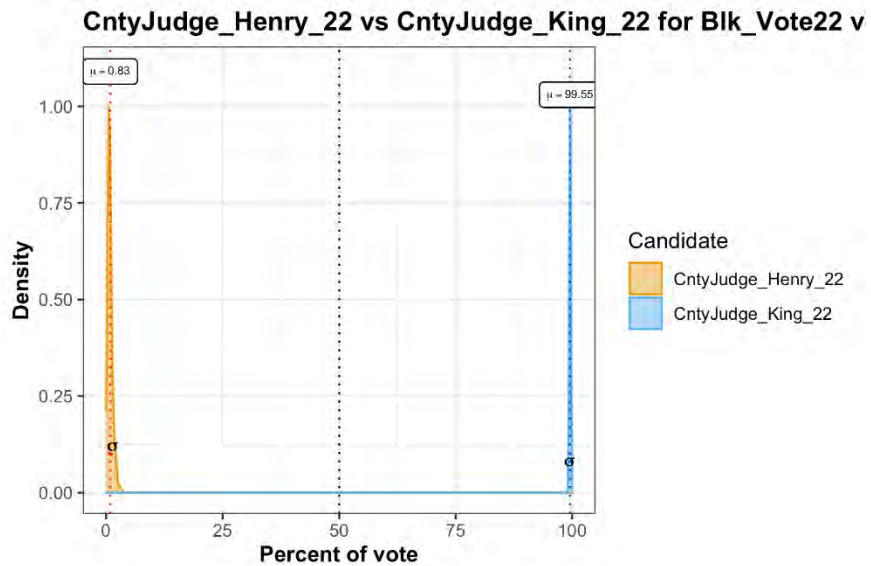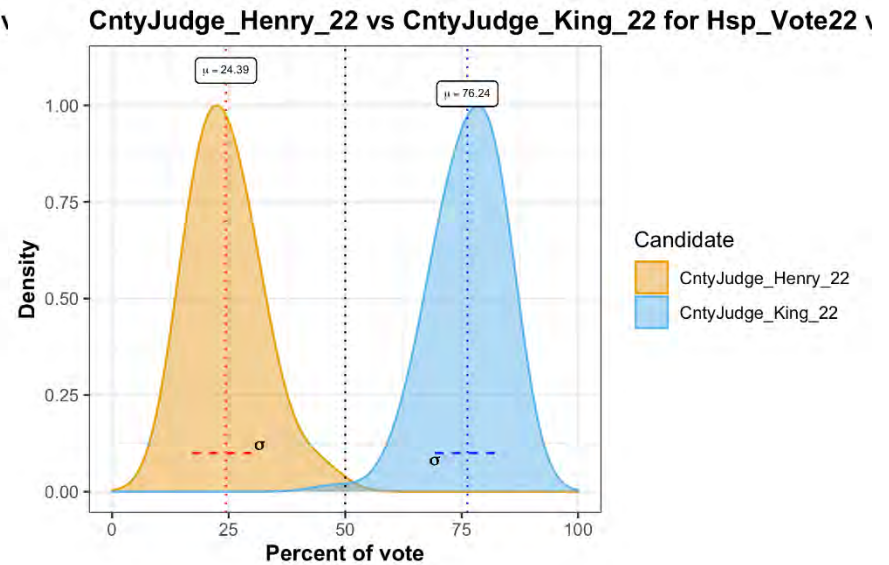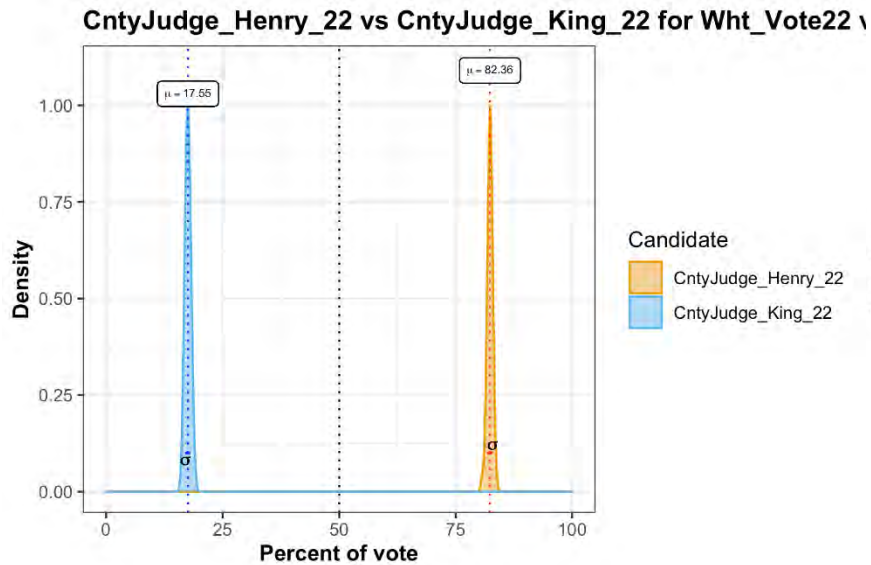
III.   2022 Governor

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

Gov_Abbott_22 vs Gov_O.Rourke_22 for White_20 voters (ove

Gov_Abbott_22 vs Gov_O.Rourke_22 for AllElse_20 voters (ov
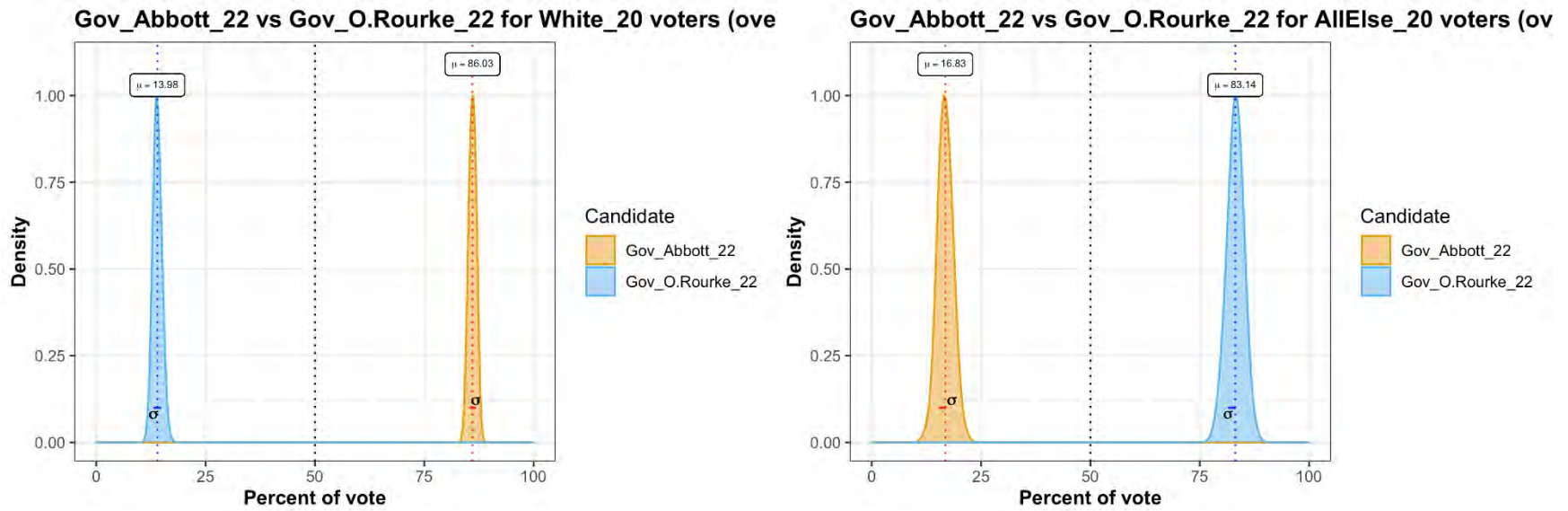
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

Gov_Abbott_22 vs Gov_O.Rourke_22 for Anglo_20 voters (ove
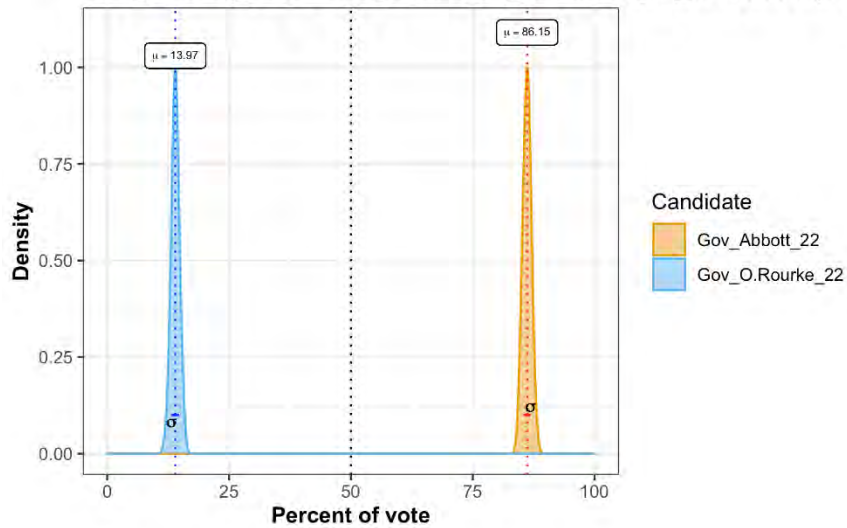
Gov_Abbott_22 vs Gov_O.Rourke_22 for Hisp_20 voters (overl
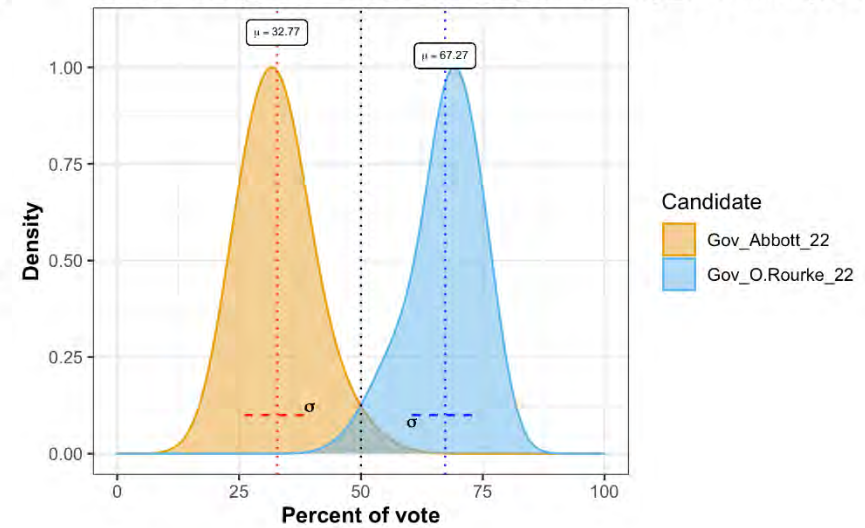
Gov_Abbott_22 vs Gov_O.Rourke_22 for Black_20 voters (over

SSTO

Gov_Abbott_22 vs Gov_O.Rourke_22 for SSTO_20 voters (ove

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
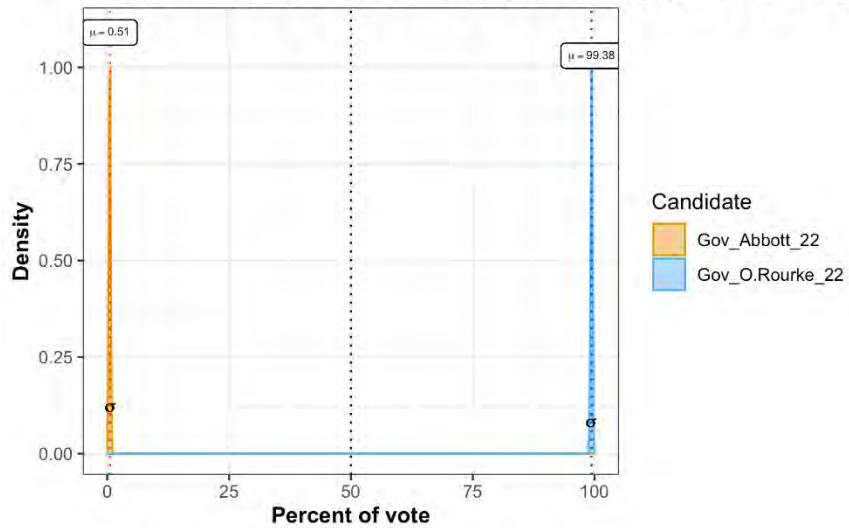
IV.   2022 Lt. Governor

<u>**Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)**</u>
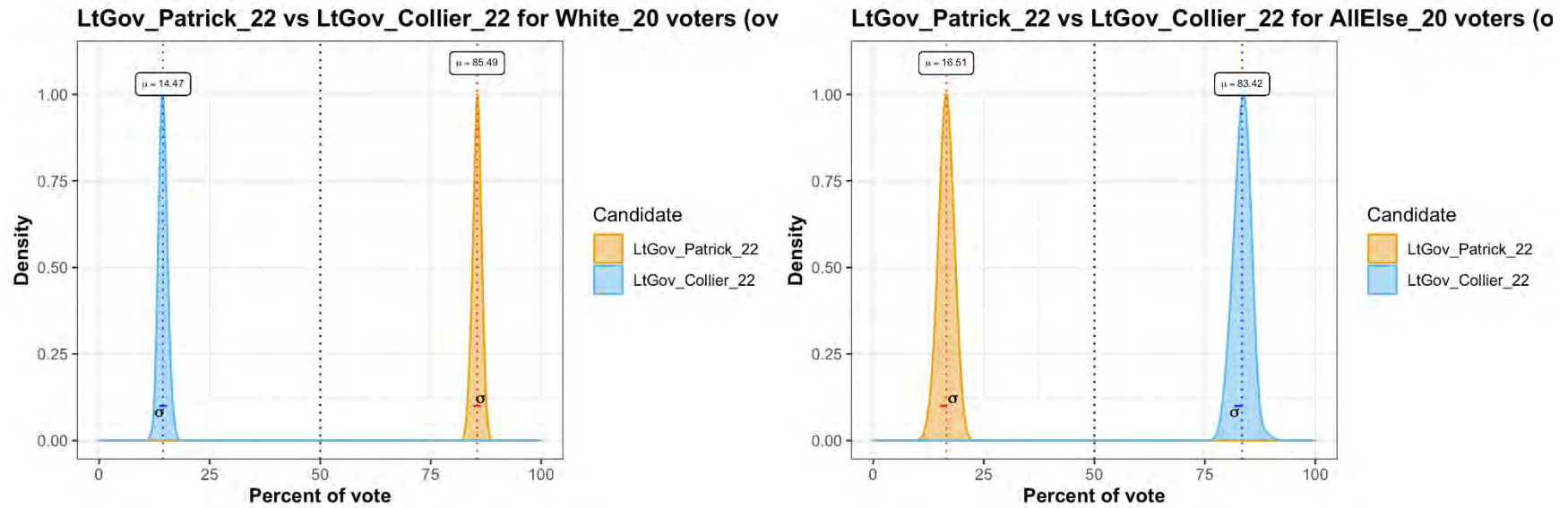
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO

LtGov_Patrick_22 vs LtGov_Collier_22 for SSTO_20 voters (ov

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
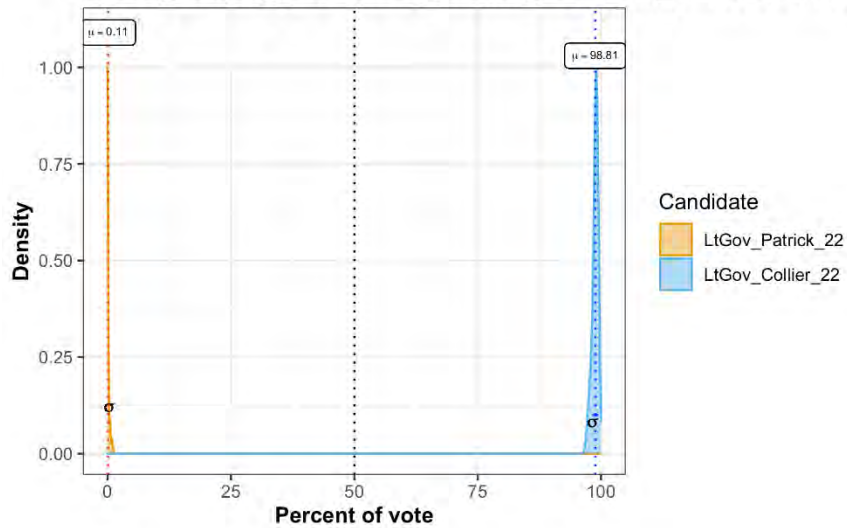
V.   2022 U.S. House of Reps, District #14

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

USRep14_Weber_22 vs USRep14_Williams_22 for White_20 vo
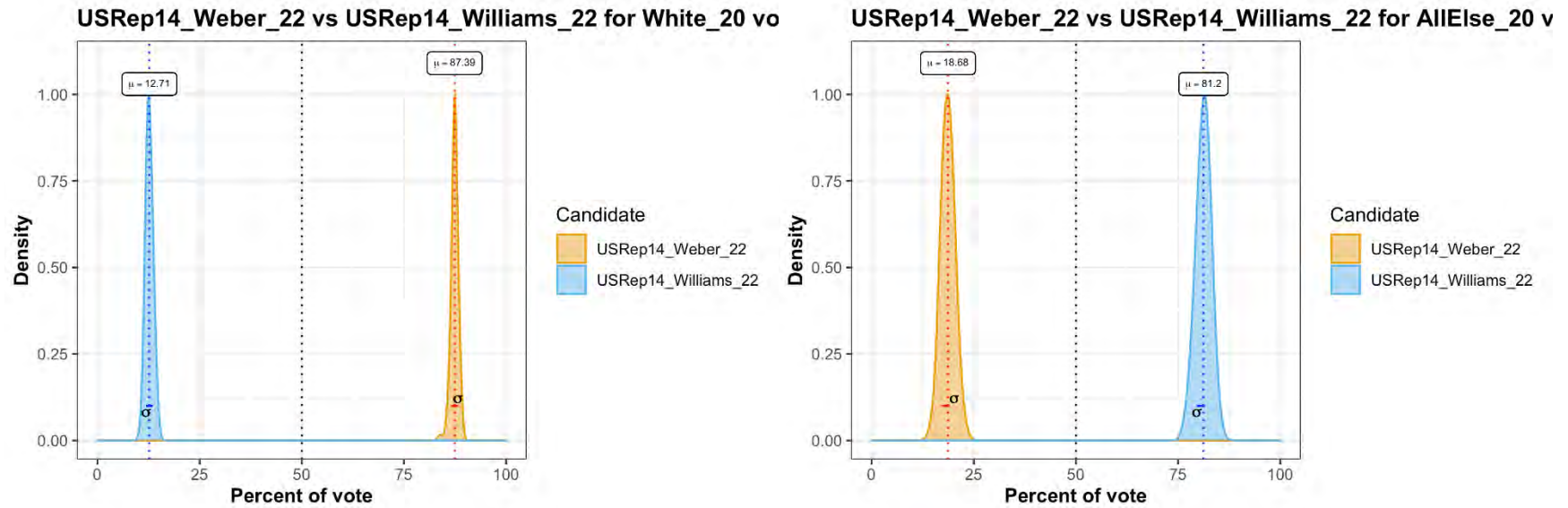
USRep14_Weber_22 vs USRep14_Williams_22 for AllElse_20 v
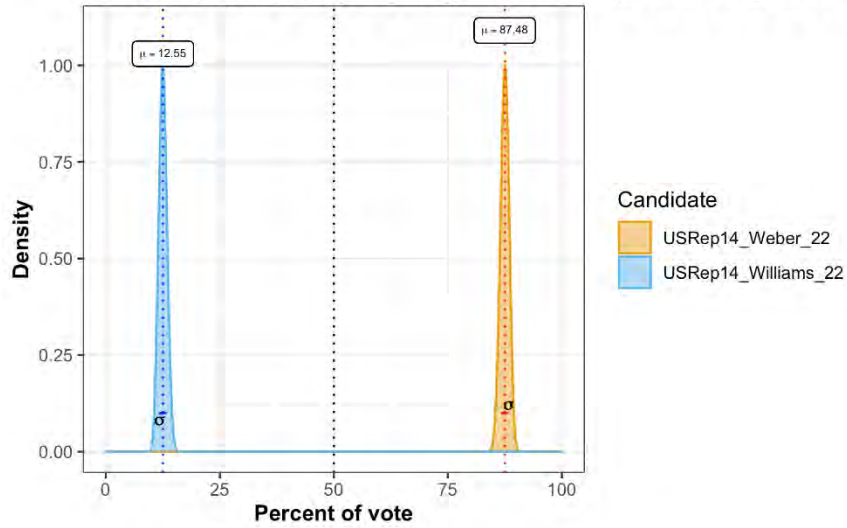
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO

USRep14_Weber_22 vs USRep14_Williams_22 for SSTO_20 vo
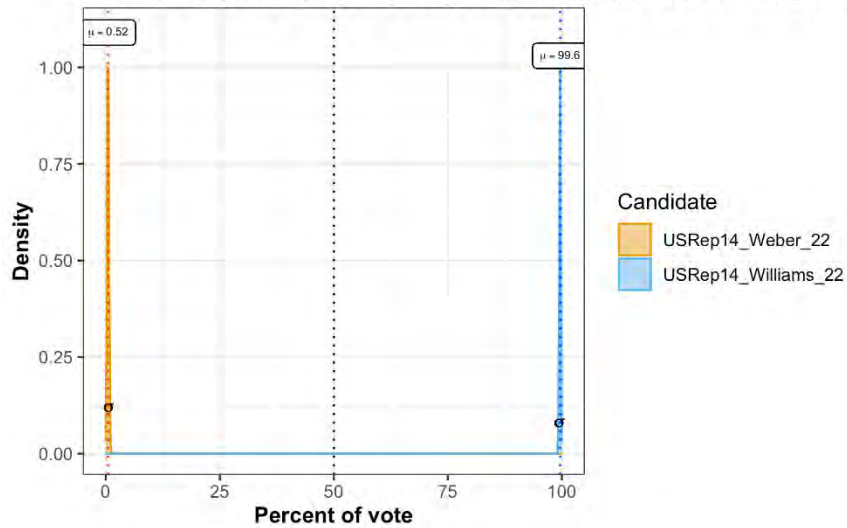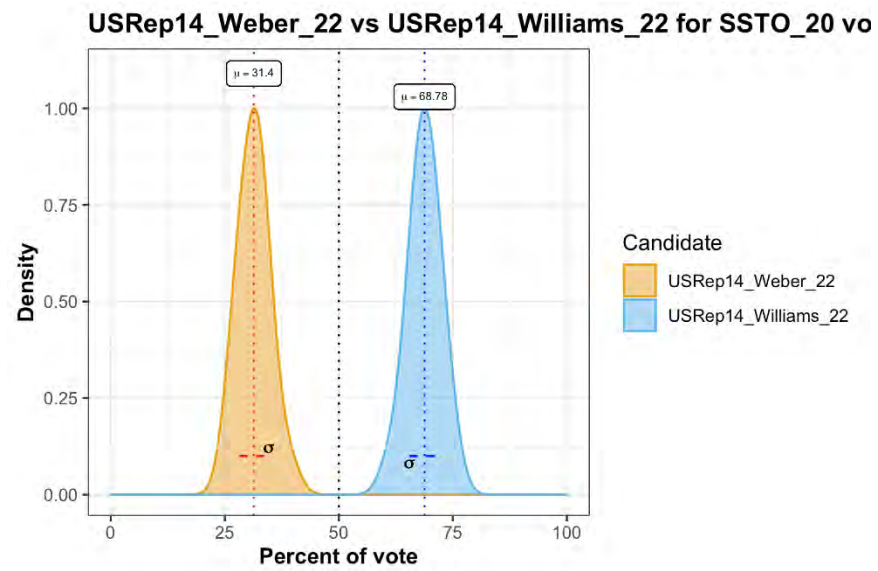
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

USRep14_Weber_22 vs USRep14_Williams_22 for Wht_Vote22
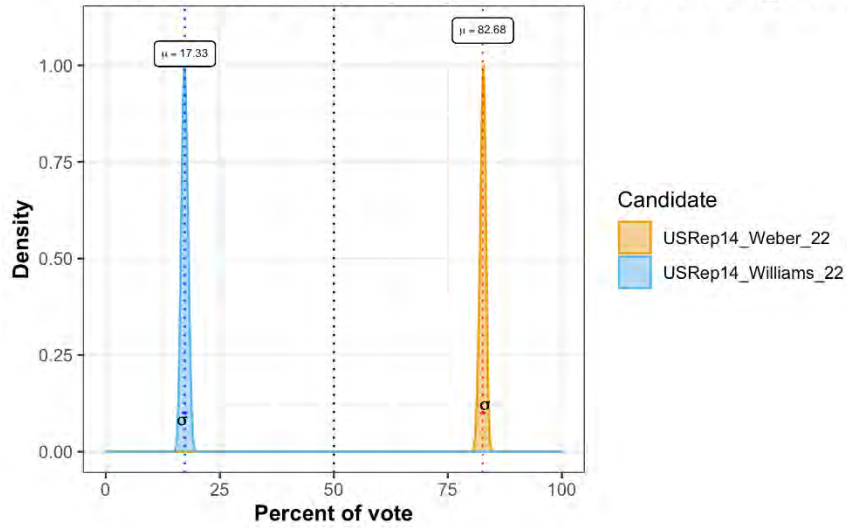
USRep14_Weber_22 vs USRep14_Williams_22 for Hsp_Vote22
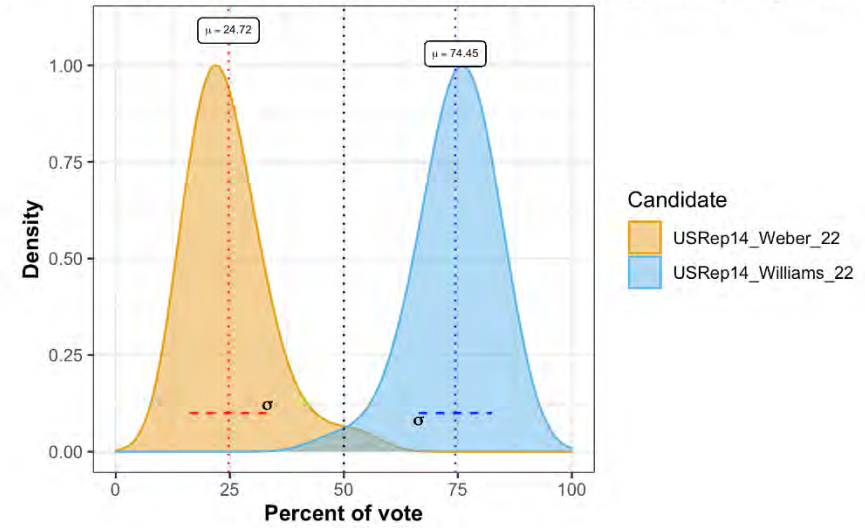
USRep14_Weber_22 vs USRep14_Williams_22 for Blk_Vote22

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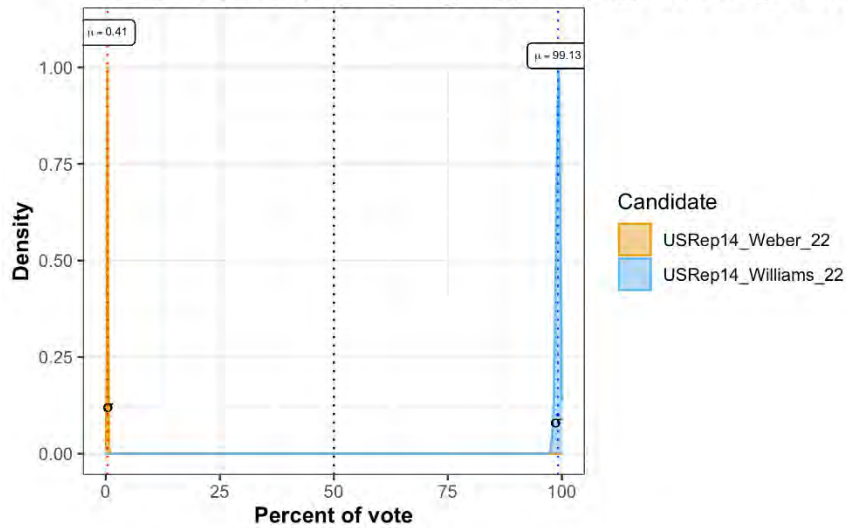
VI.   2022 District 122 Judge

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
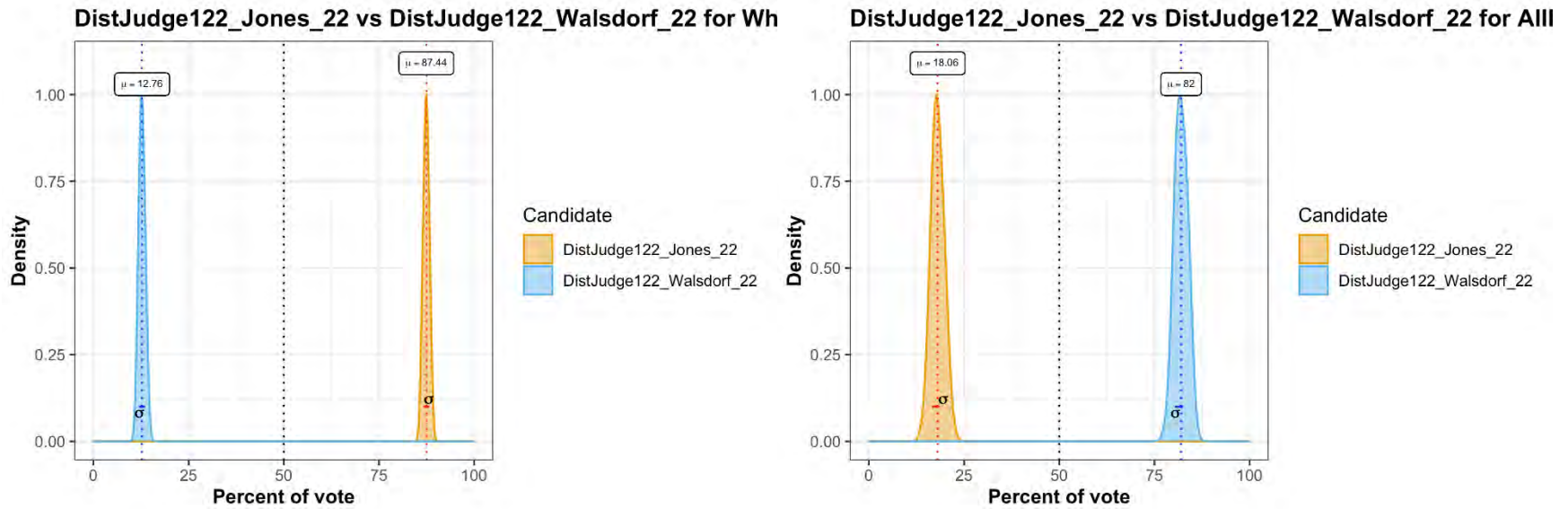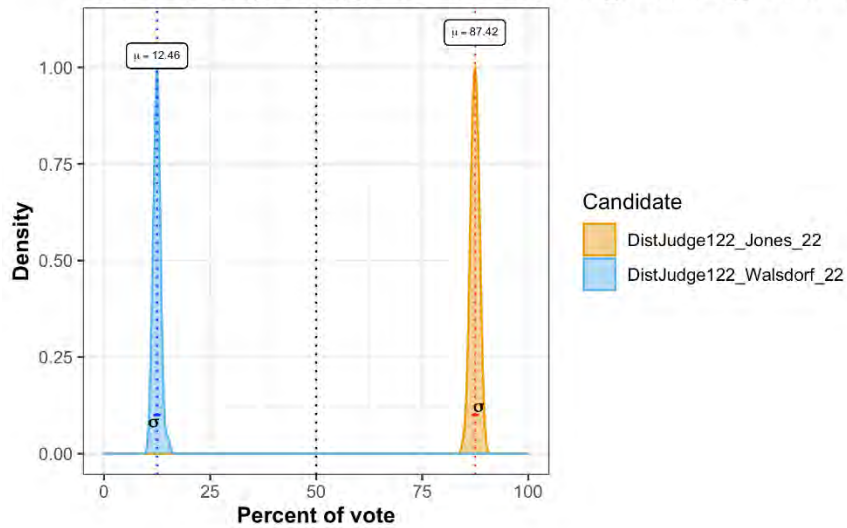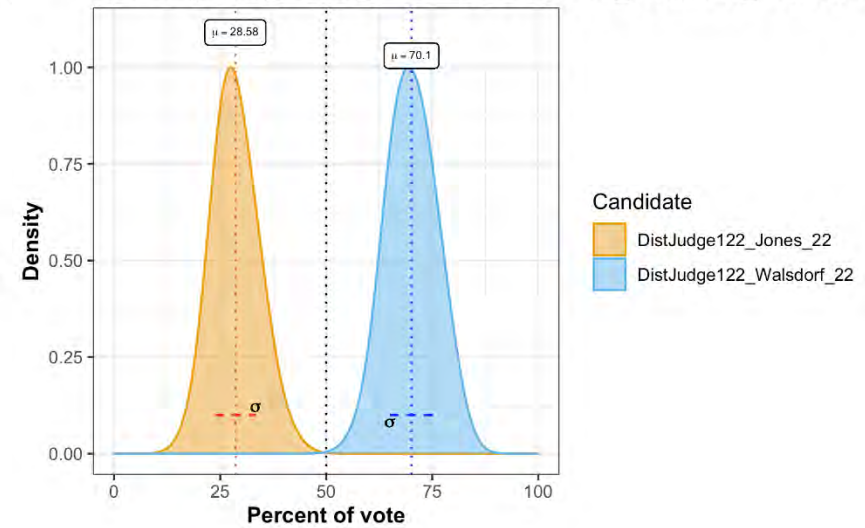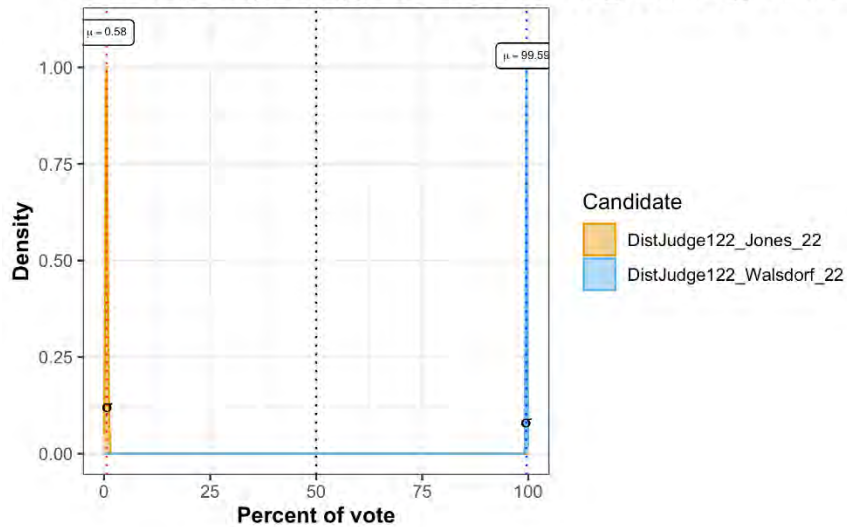
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO
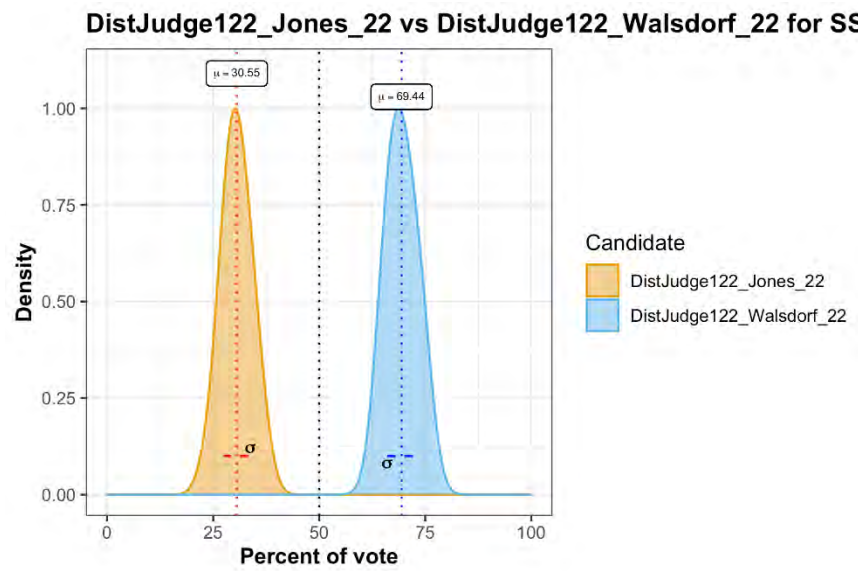
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
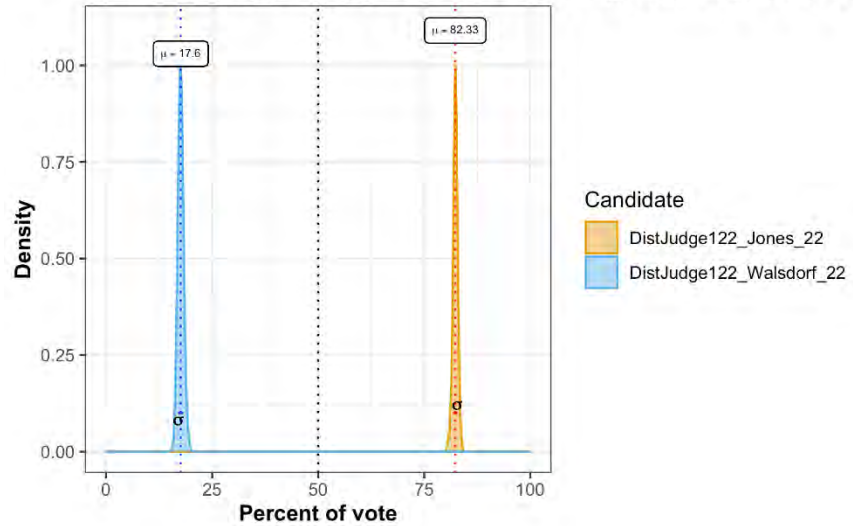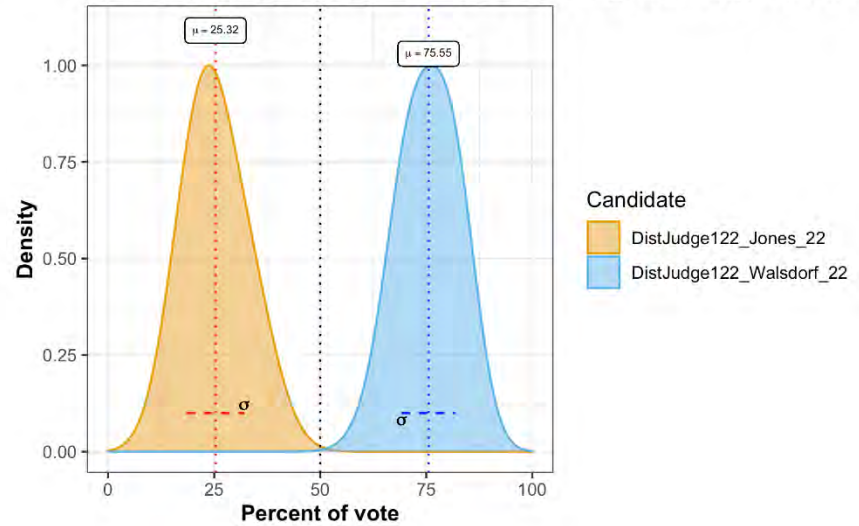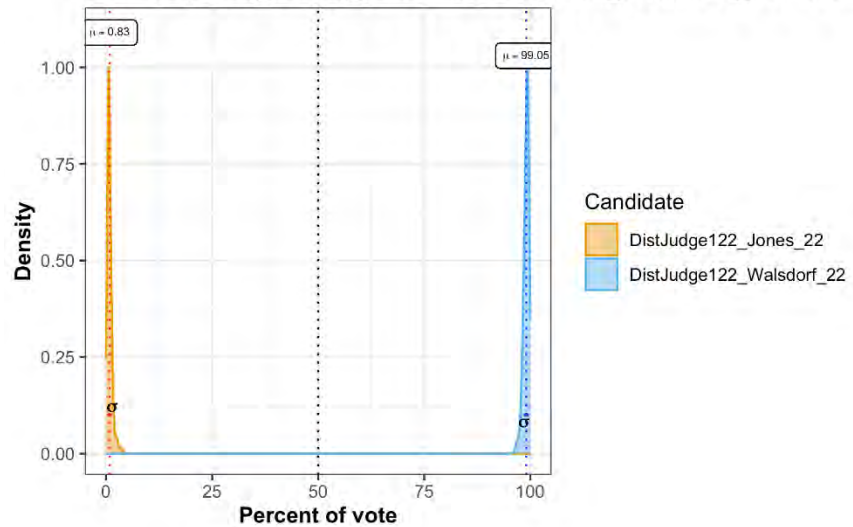
VII.   2022 District Attorney
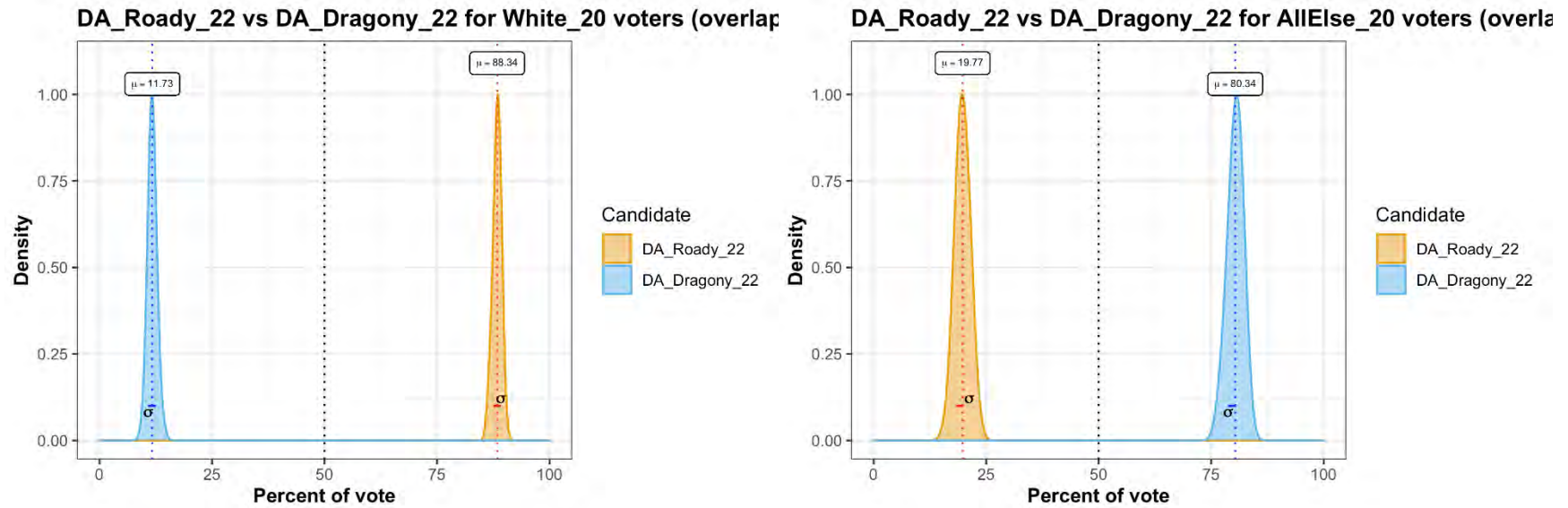
Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

DA_Roady_22 vs DA_Dragony_22 for White_20 voters (overlap

DA_Roady_22 vs DA_Dragony_22 for AllElse_20 voters (overla
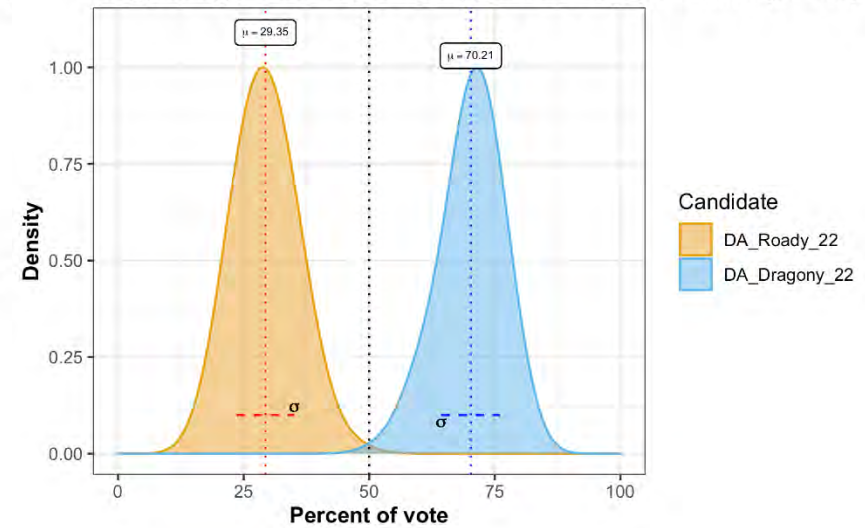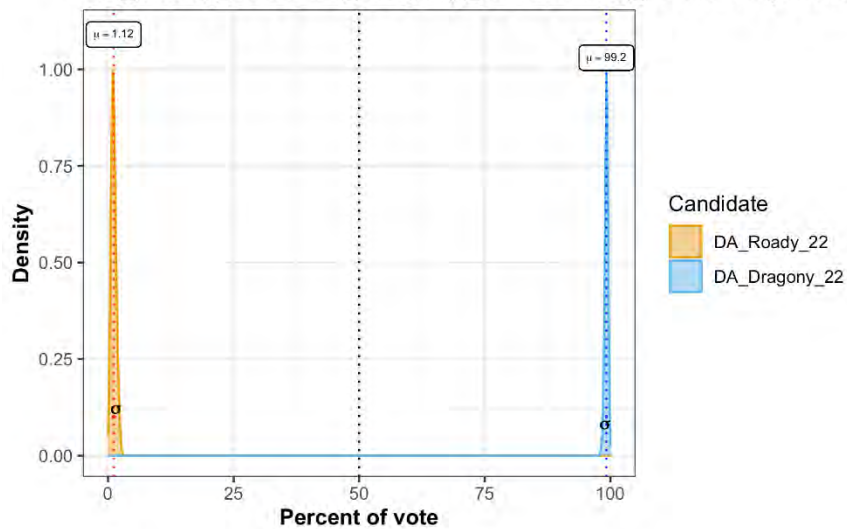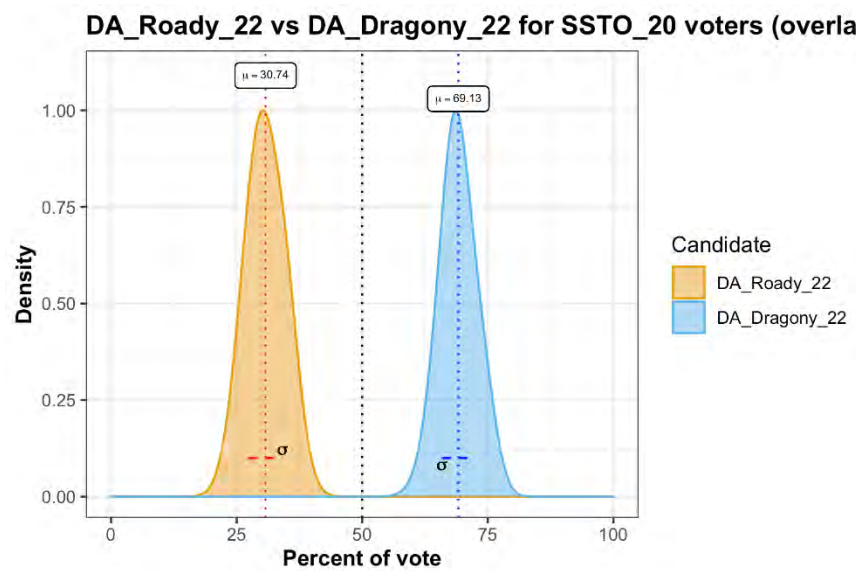
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
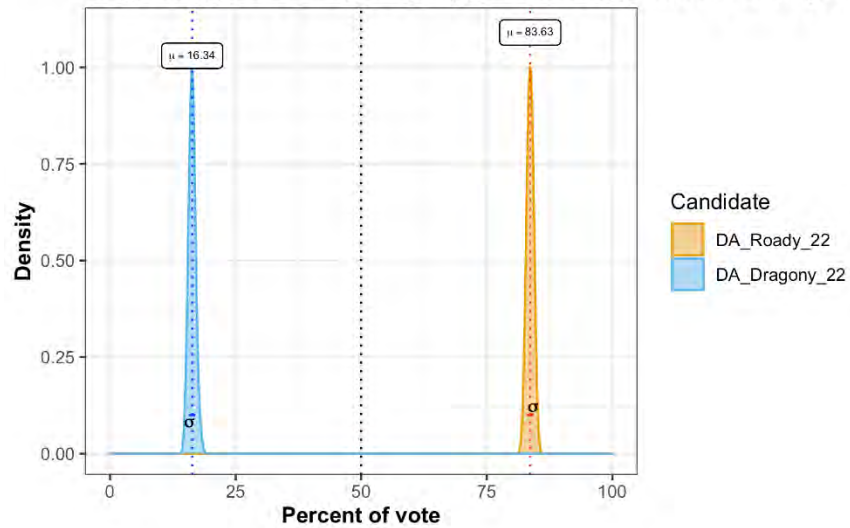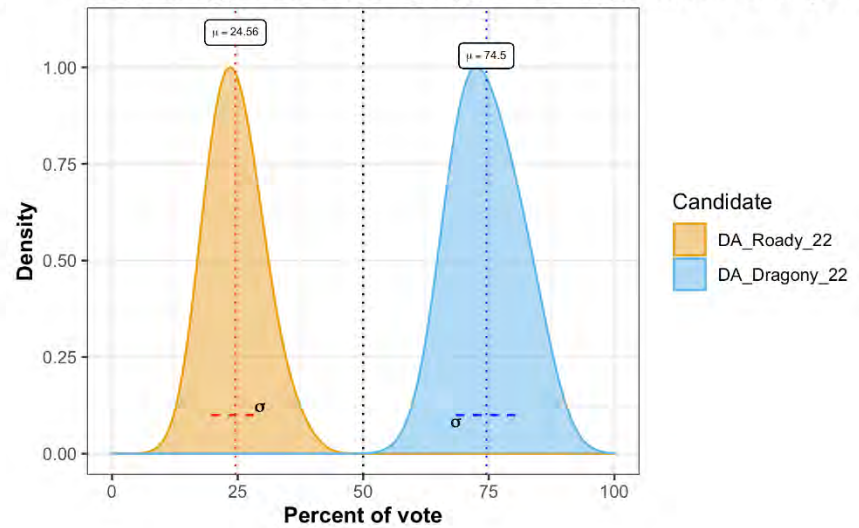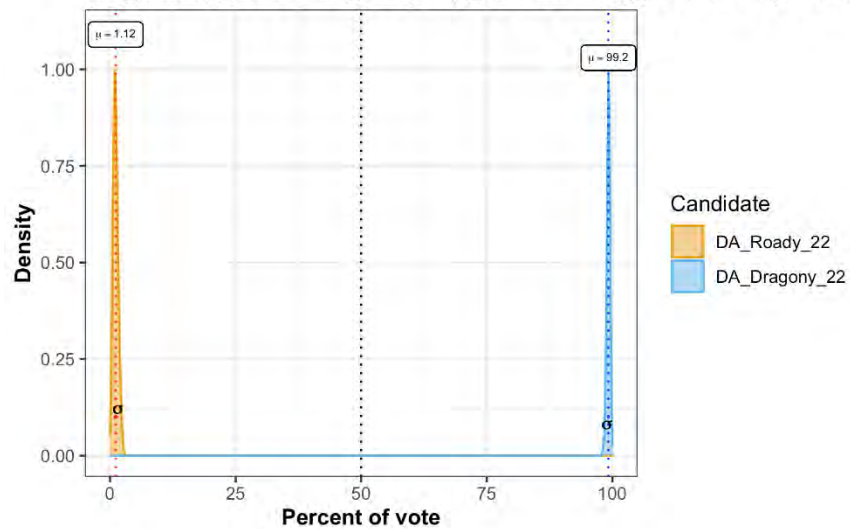
VIII.   2020 County Sheriff

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
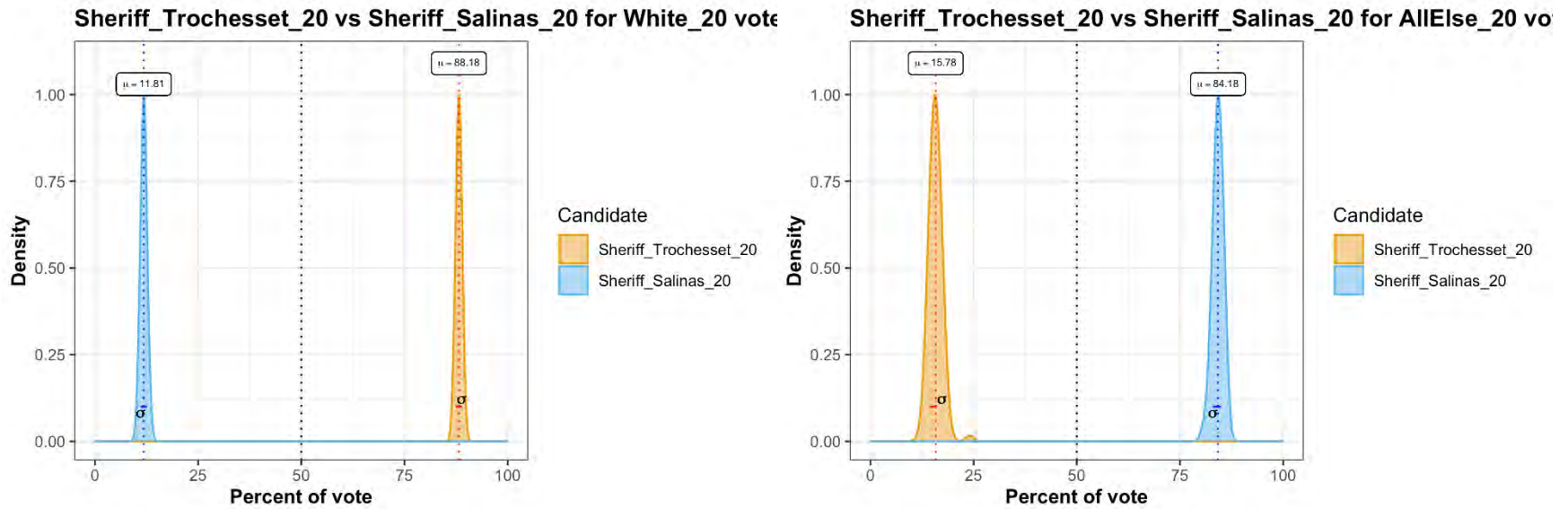
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

Sheriff_Trochesset_20 vs Sheriff_Salinas_20 for Anglo_20 voters
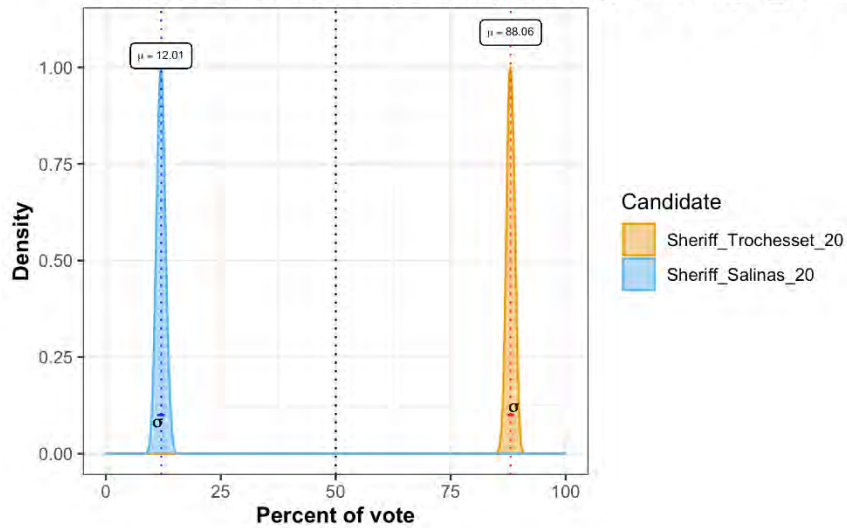
Sheriff_Trochesset_20 vs Sheriff_Salinas_20 for Hisp_20 voters
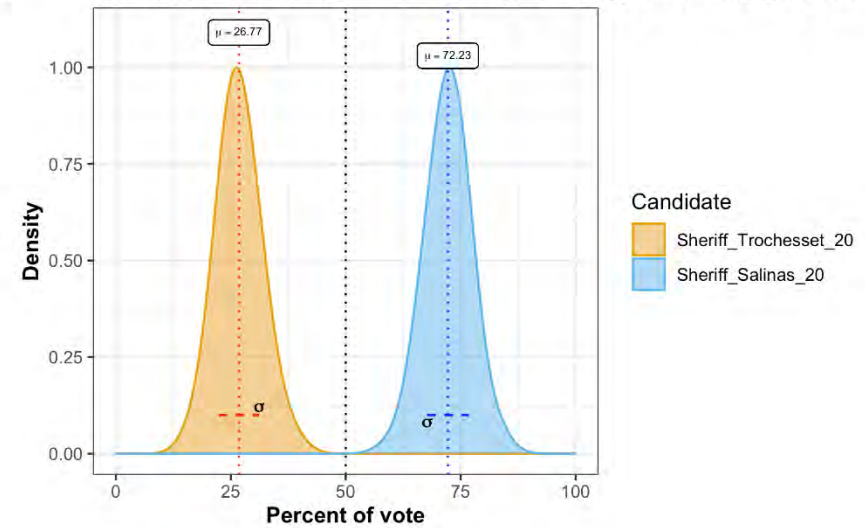
Sheriff_Trochesset_20 vs Sheriff_Salinas_20 for Black_20 voters
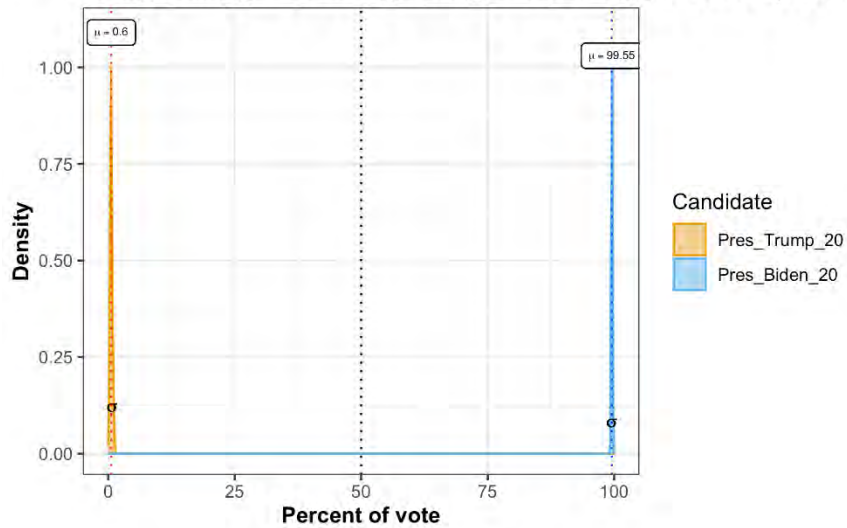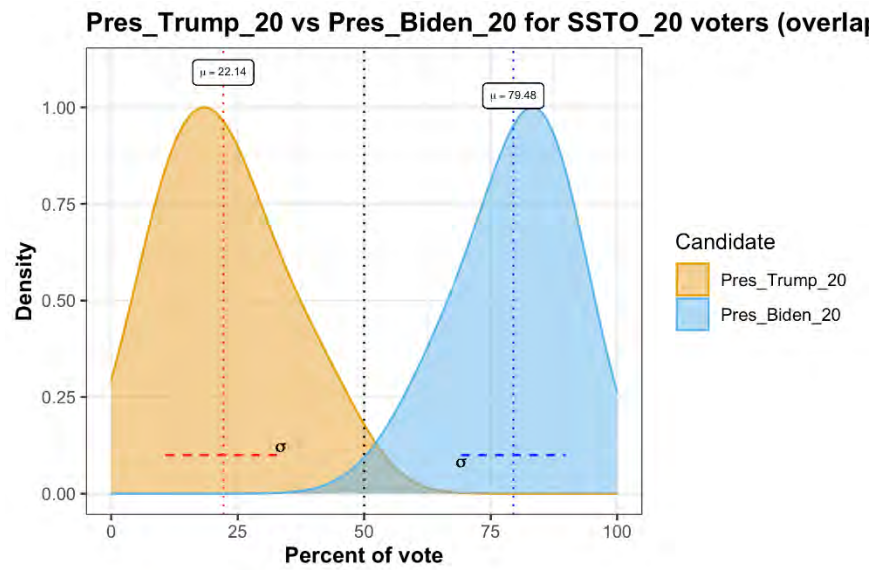
SSTO

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

IX.   2020 President

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

X.   2020 U.S. Senate

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO
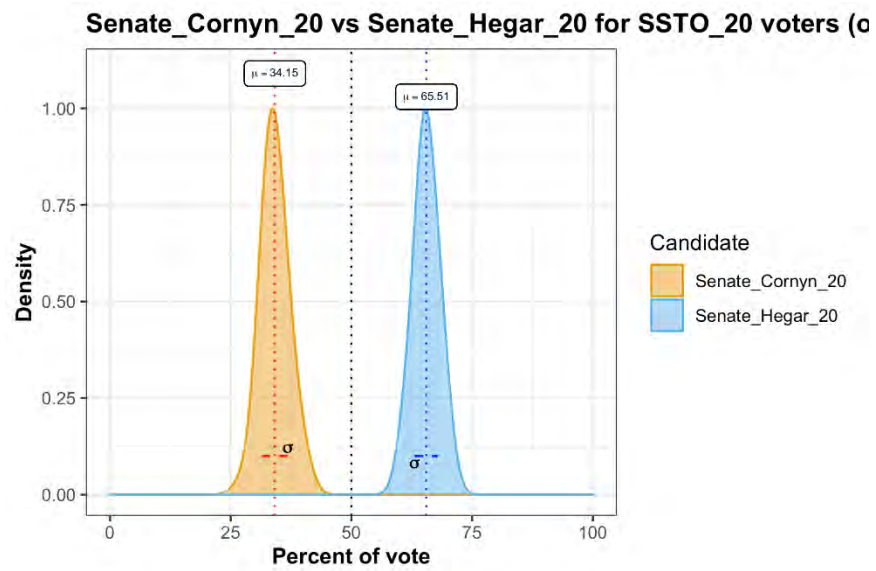
Senate_Cornyn_20 vs Senate_Hegar_20 for SSTO_20 voters (o

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
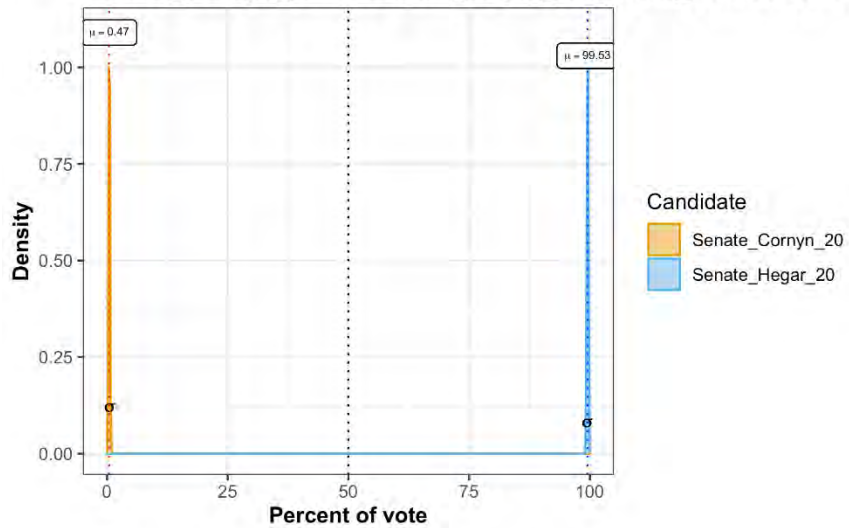
XI. **2020 U.S. House of Reps, District #14**

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

USRep14_Weber_20 vs USRep14_Bell_20 for White_20 voters
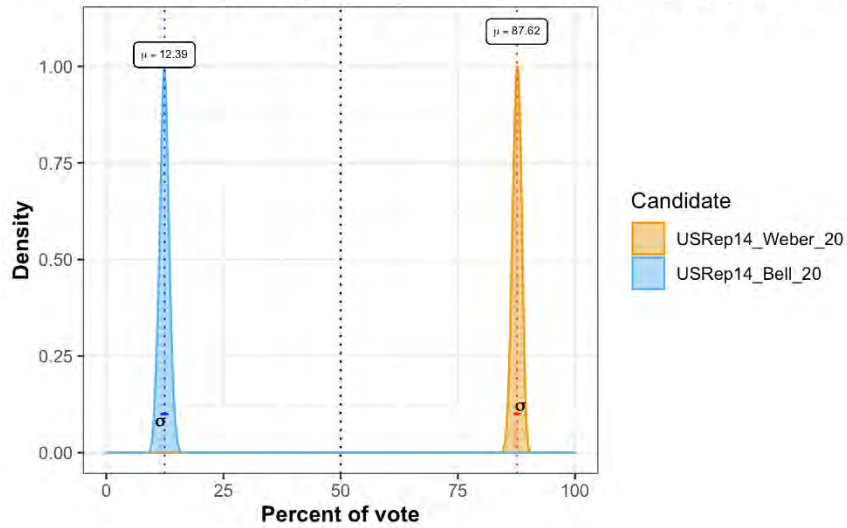
USRep14_Weber_20 vs USRep14_Bell_20 for AllElse_20 voters

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Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO

USRep14_Weber_20 vs USRep14_Bell_20 for SSTO_20 voters

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
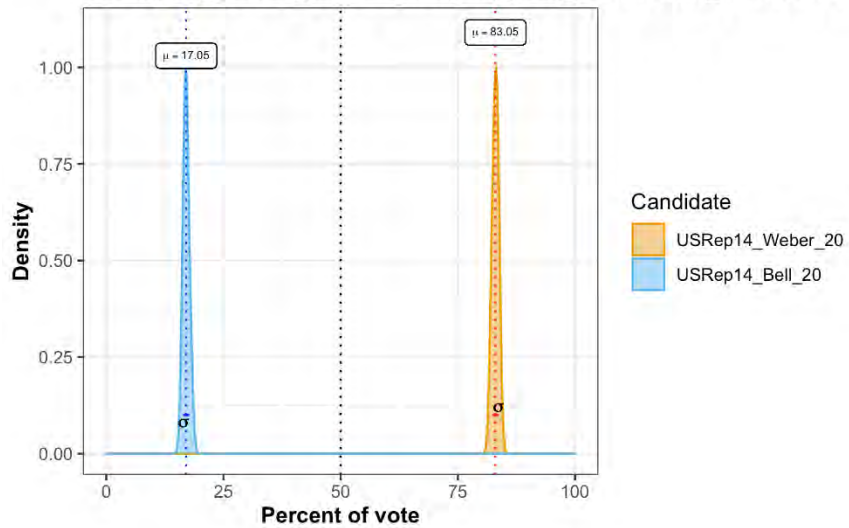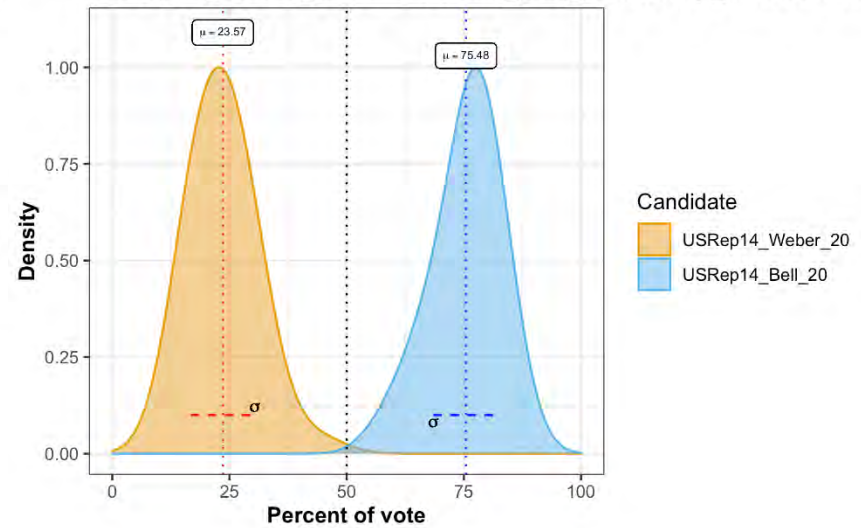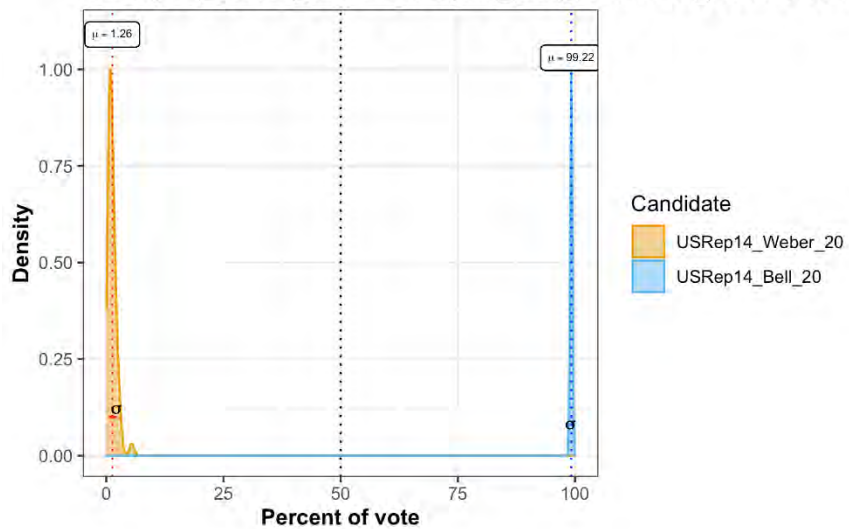
XII.   2020 District 405 Judge

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
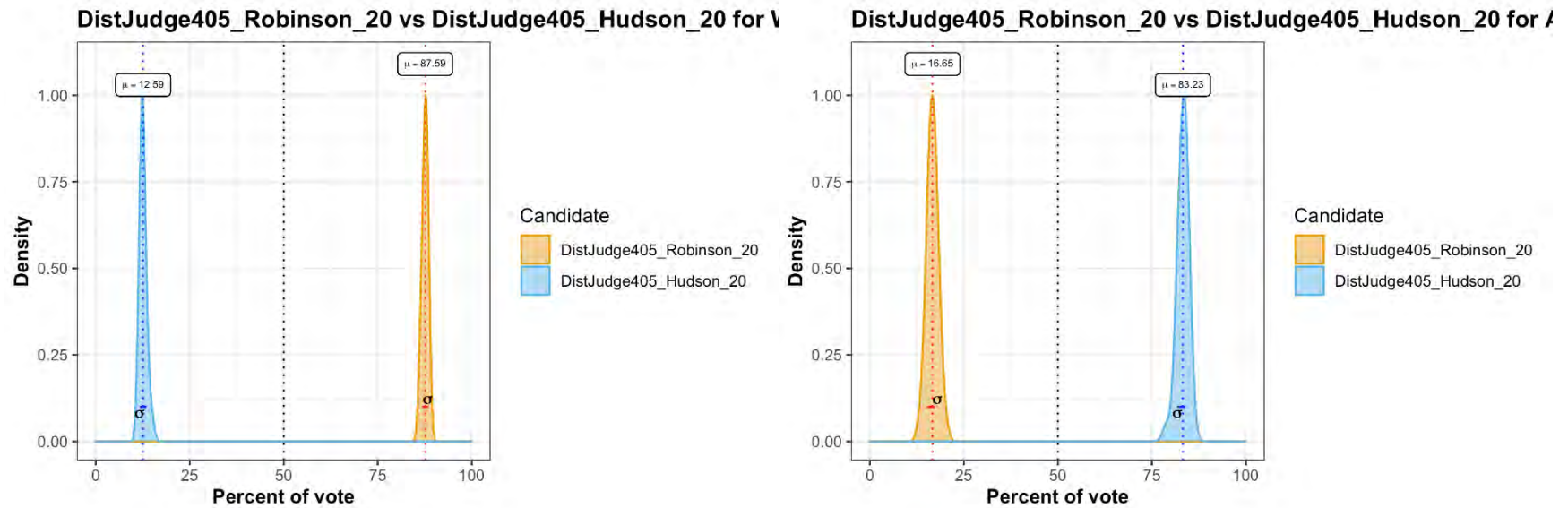
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO

DistJudge405_Robinson_20 vs DistJudge405_Hudson_20 for S
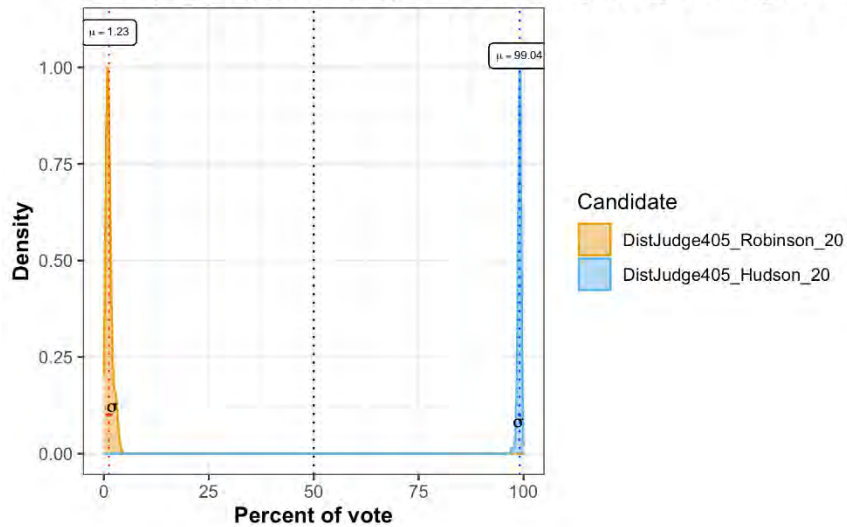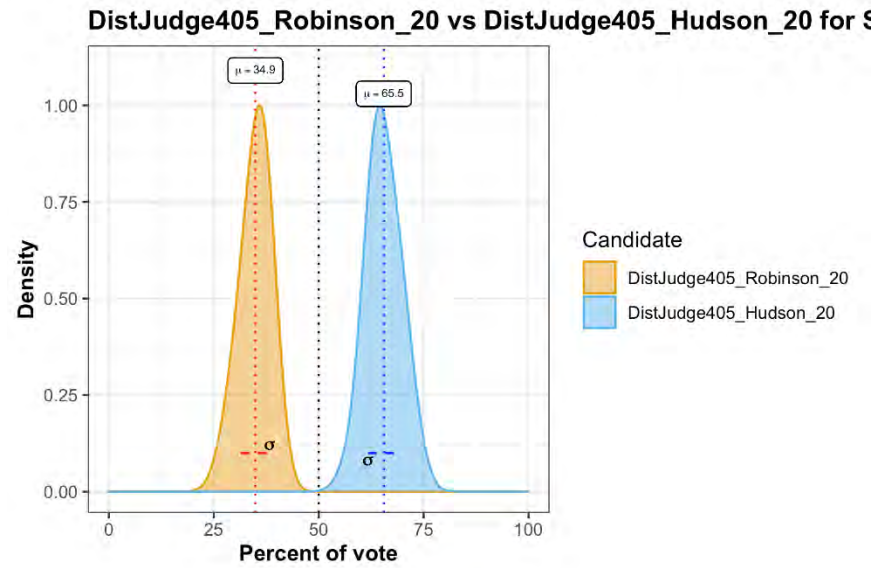
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
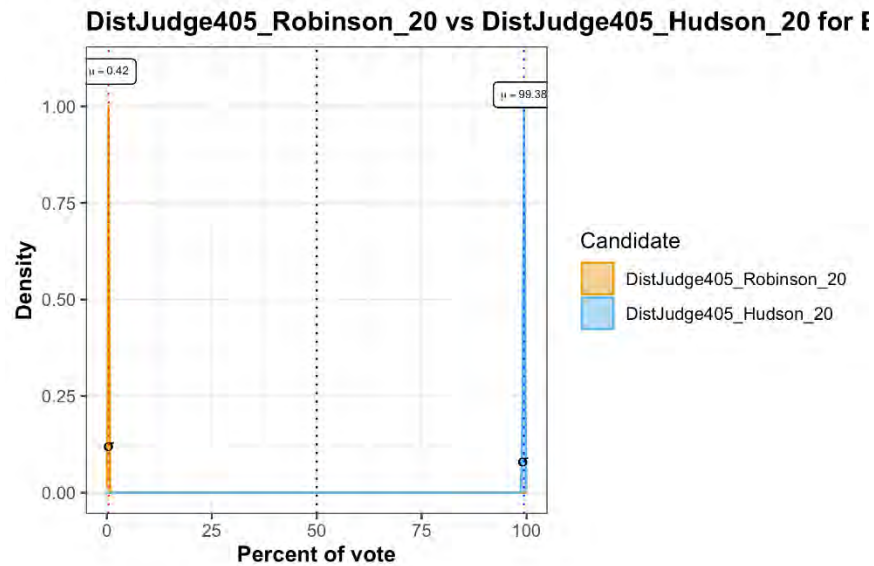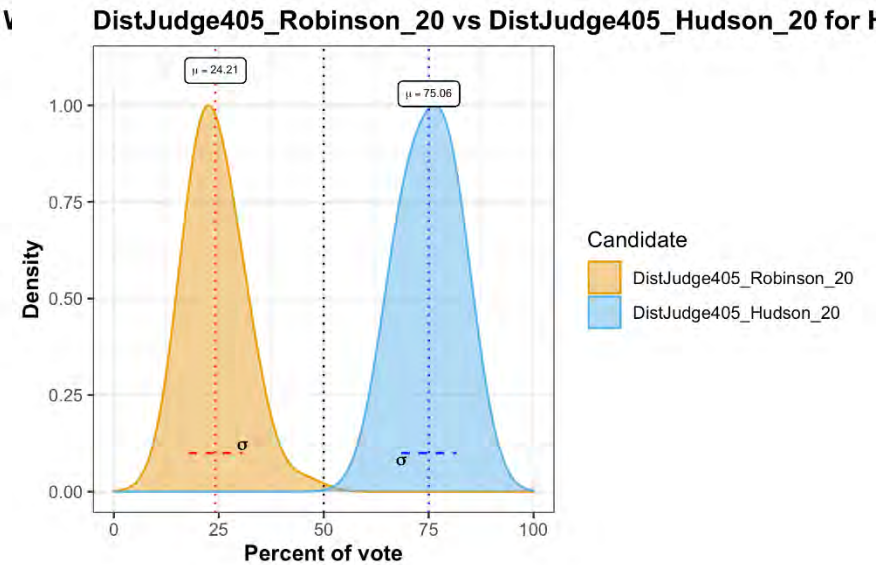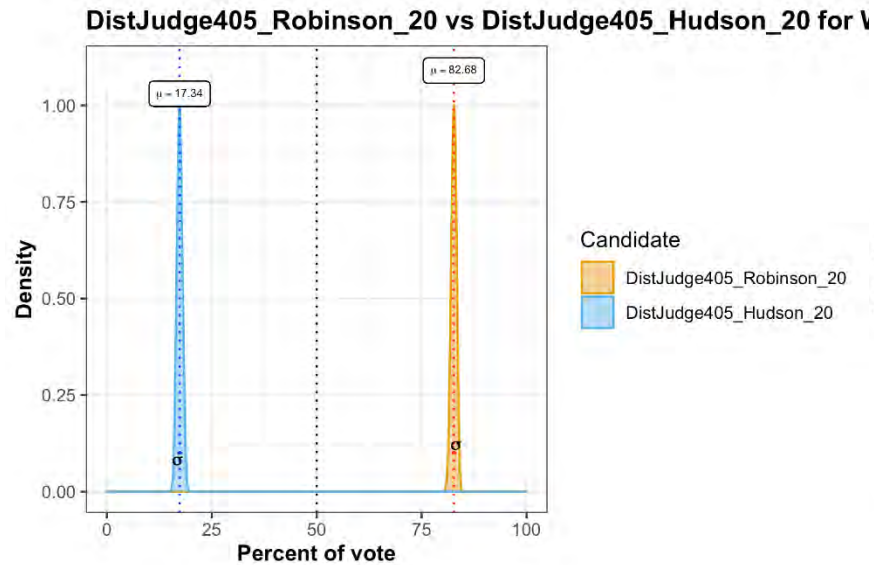
XIII.   2020 District 56 Judge

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
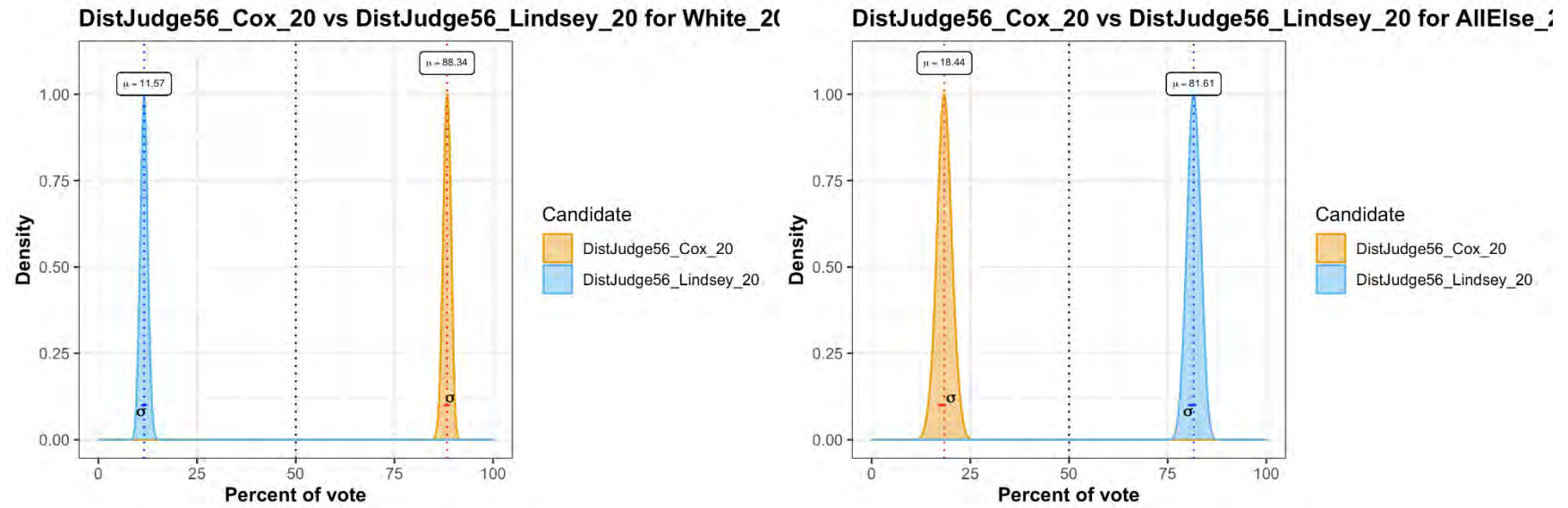
DistJudge56_Cox_20 vs DistJudge56_Lindsey_20 for White_20

μ = 11.57
μ = 88.34

DistJudge56_Cox_20 vs DistJudge56_Lindsey_20 for AllElse_2
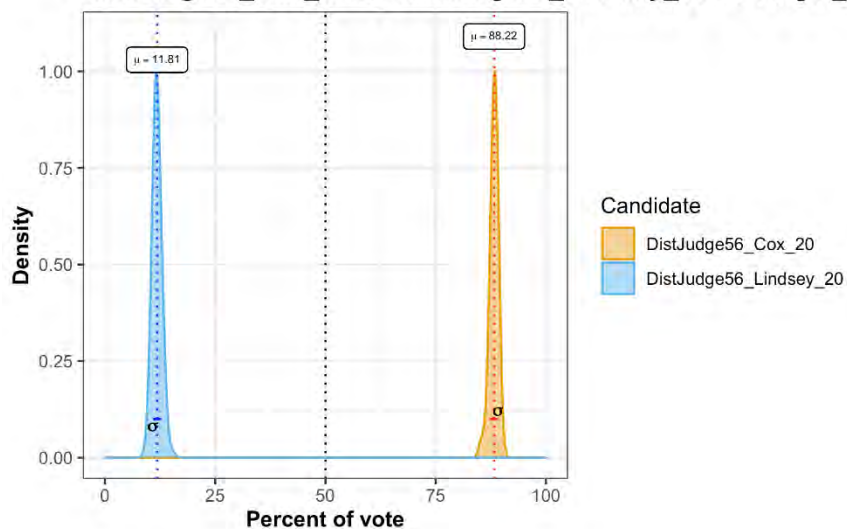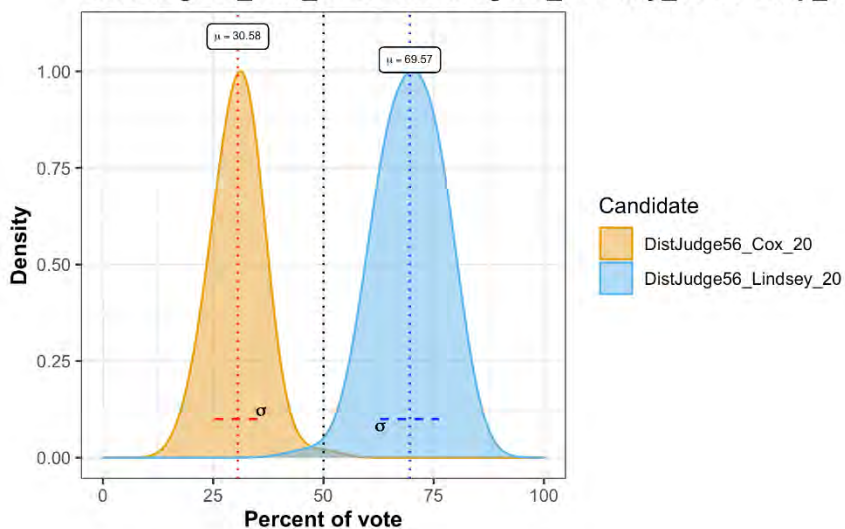
μ = 18.44
μ = 81.61
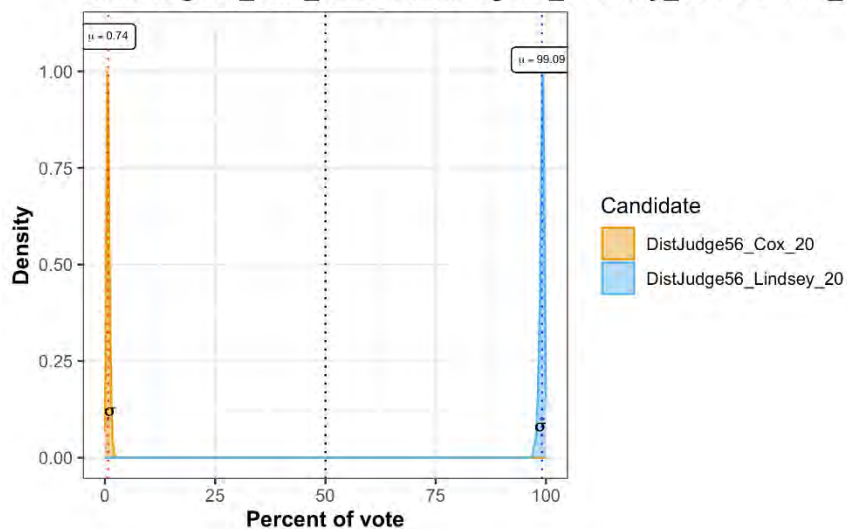
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO
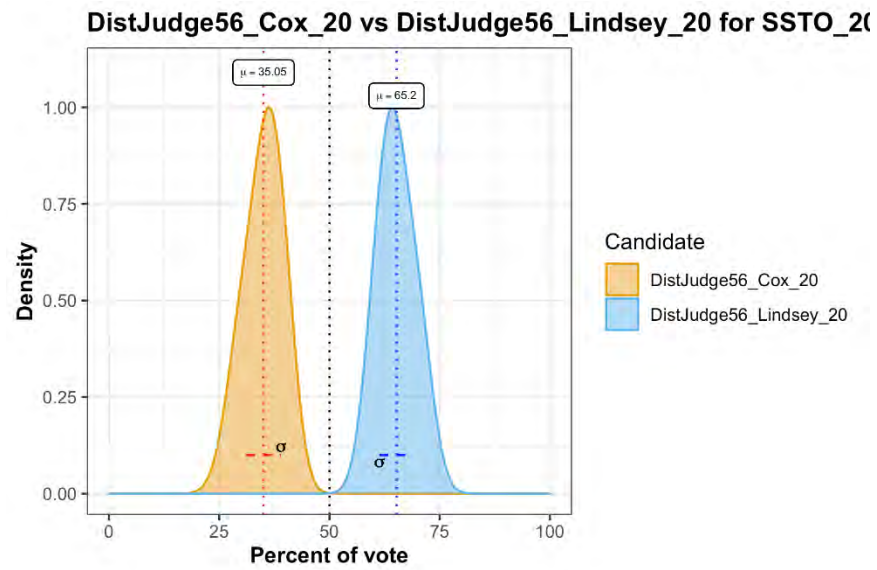
DistJudge56_Cox_20 vs DistJudge56_Lindsey_20 for SSTO_20

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
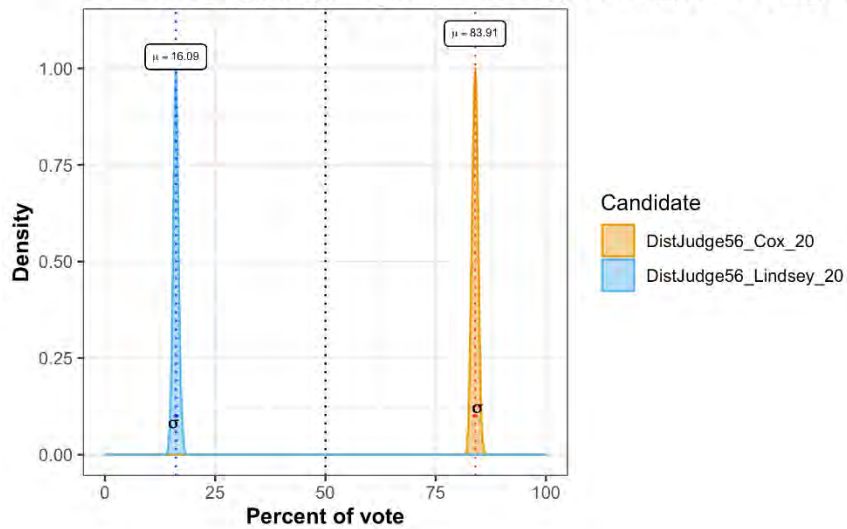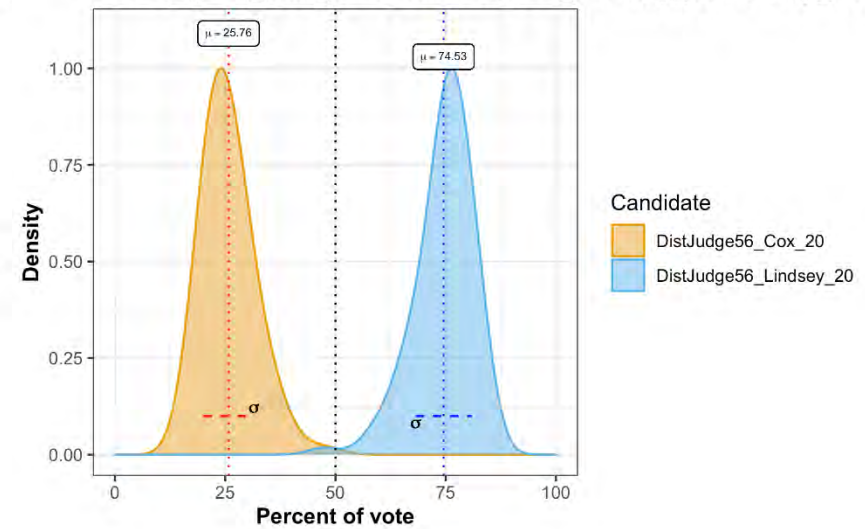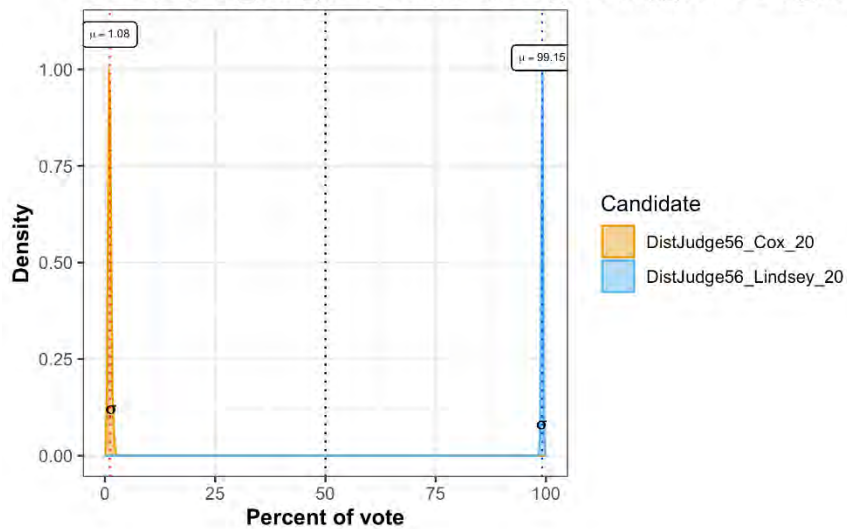
XIV. 2018 Attorney General

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
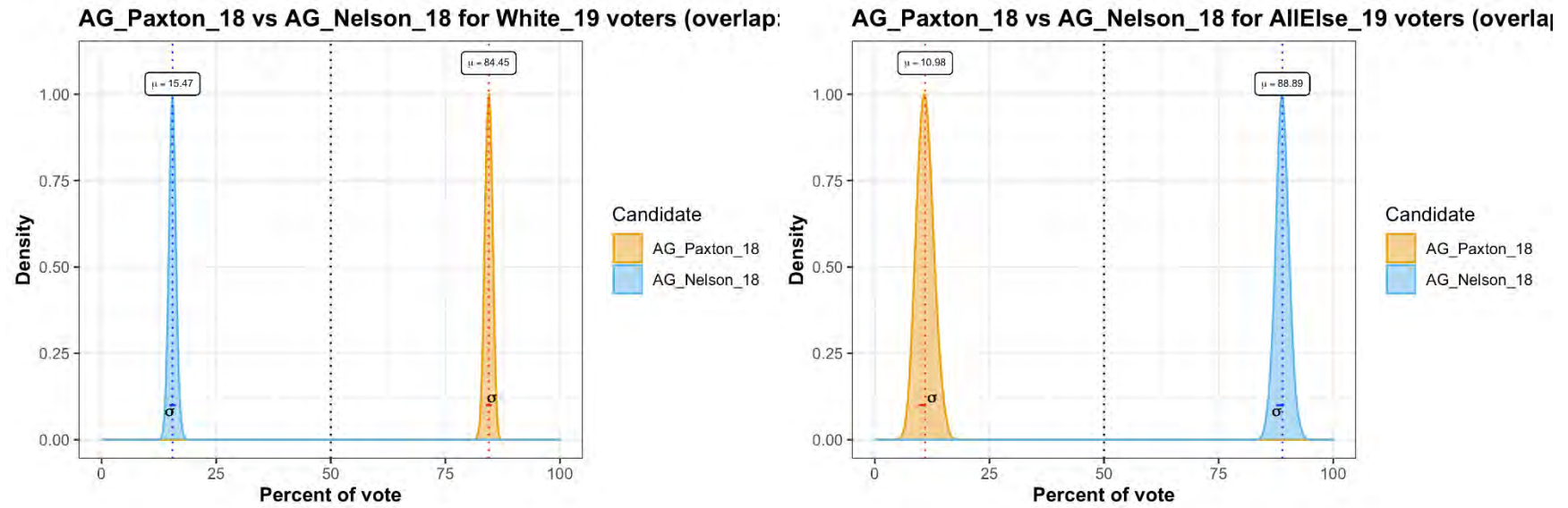
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

AG_Paxton_18 vs AG_Nelson_18 for Anglo_19 voters (overlap
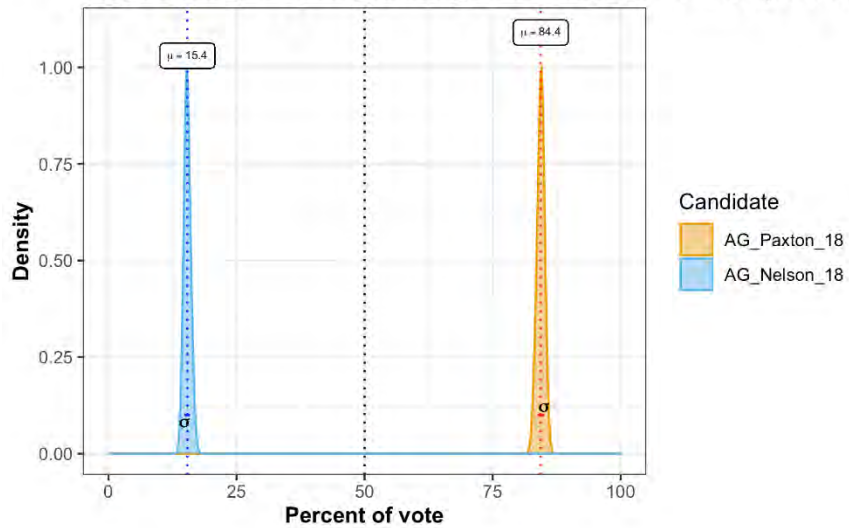
AG_Paxton_18 vs AG_Nelson_18 for Hisp_19 voters (overlap:
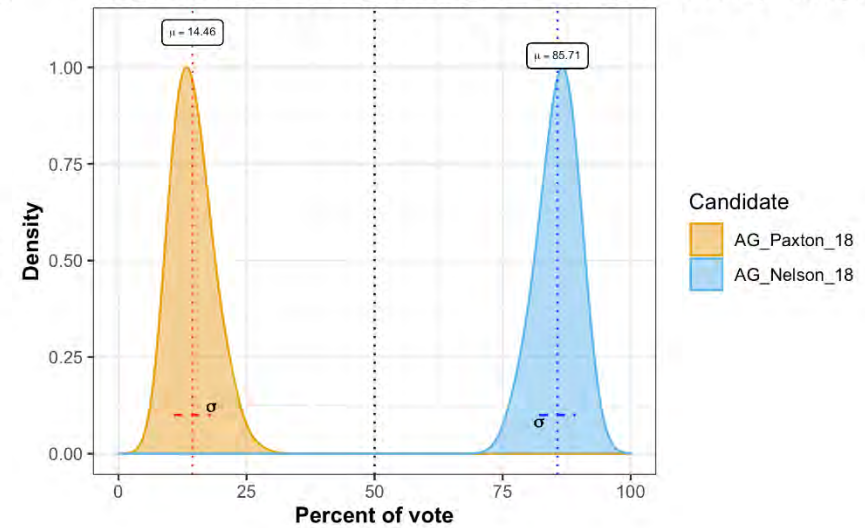
AG_Paxton_18 vs AG_Nelson_18 for Black_19 voters (overlap:
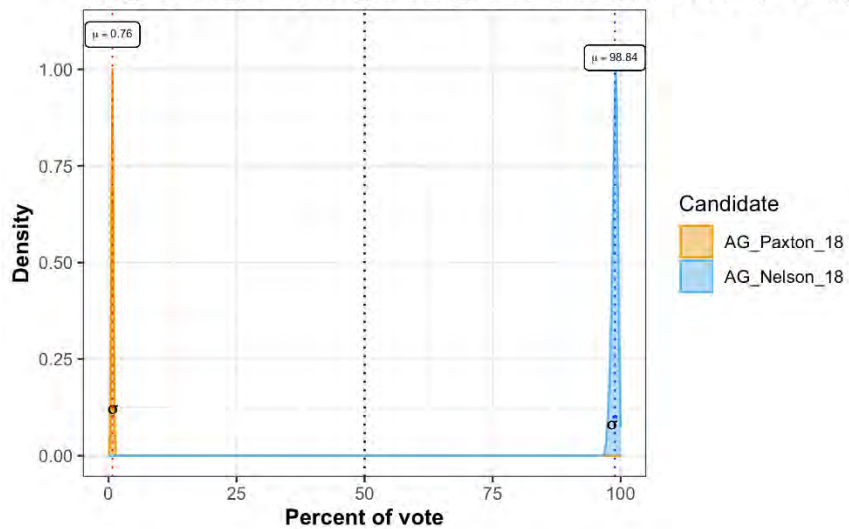
SSTO

AG_Paxton_18 vs AG_Nelson_18 for SSTO_18 voters (overlap:
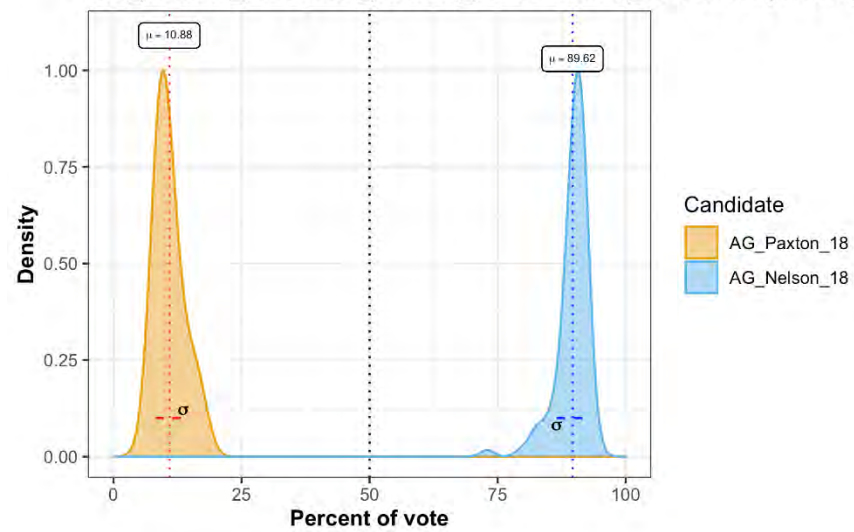
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

AG_Paxton_18 vs AG_Nelson_18 for Wht_Vote18 voters (overl
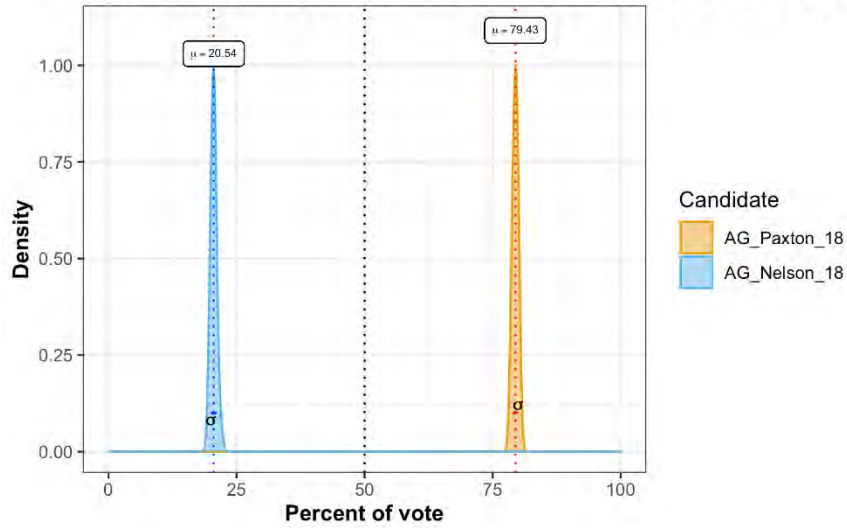
AG_Paxton_18 vs AG_Nelson_18 for Hsp_Vote18 voters (overl
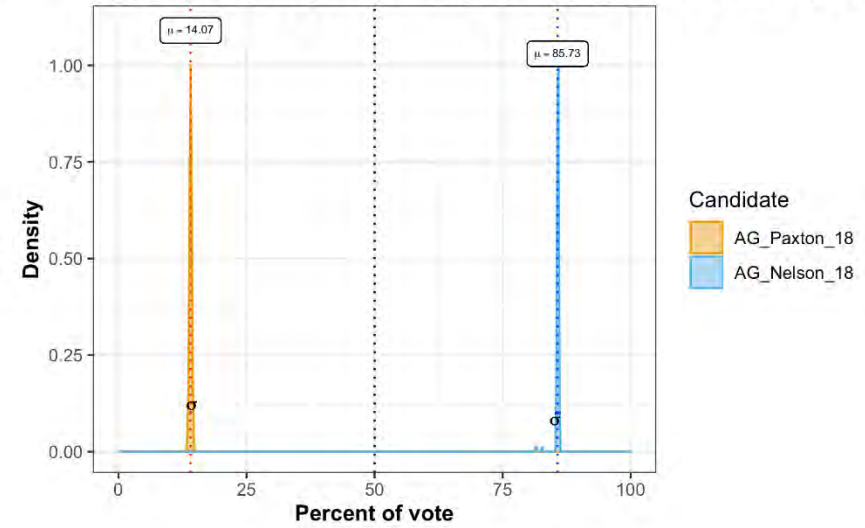
AG_Paxton_18 vs AG_Nelson_18 for Blk_Vote18 voters (overla

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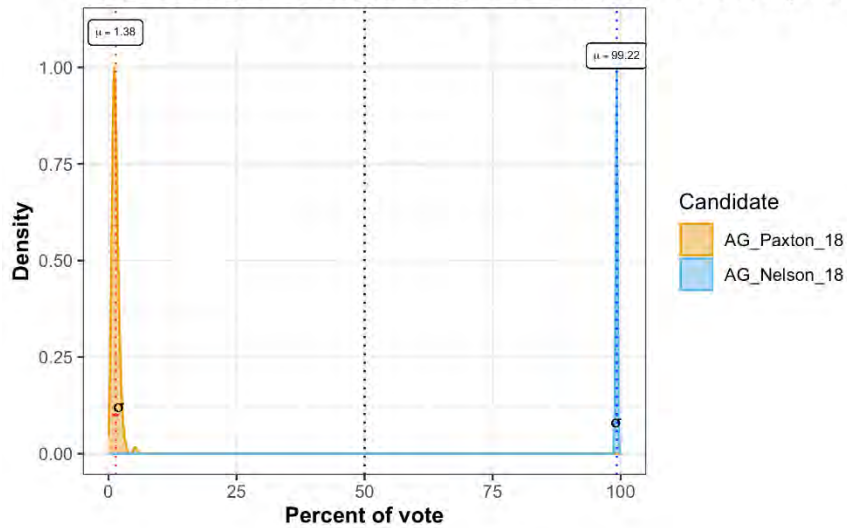
XV.   2018 Governor

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
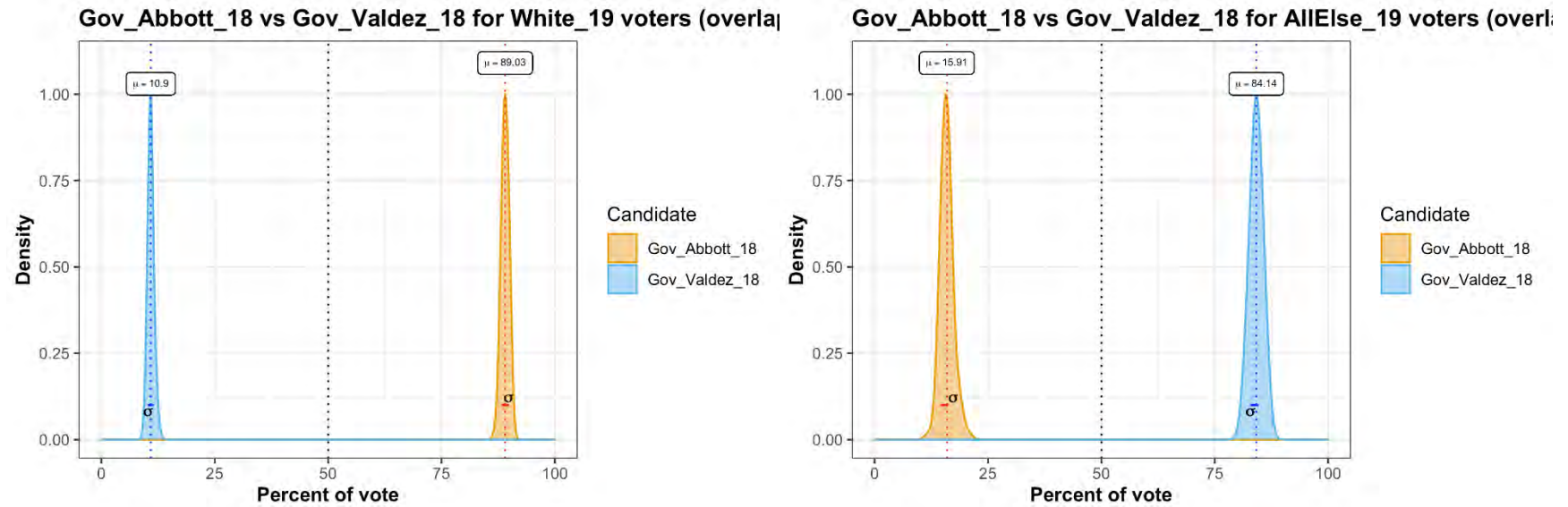
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

Gov_Abbott_18 vs Gov_Valdez_18 for Anglo_19 voters (overla
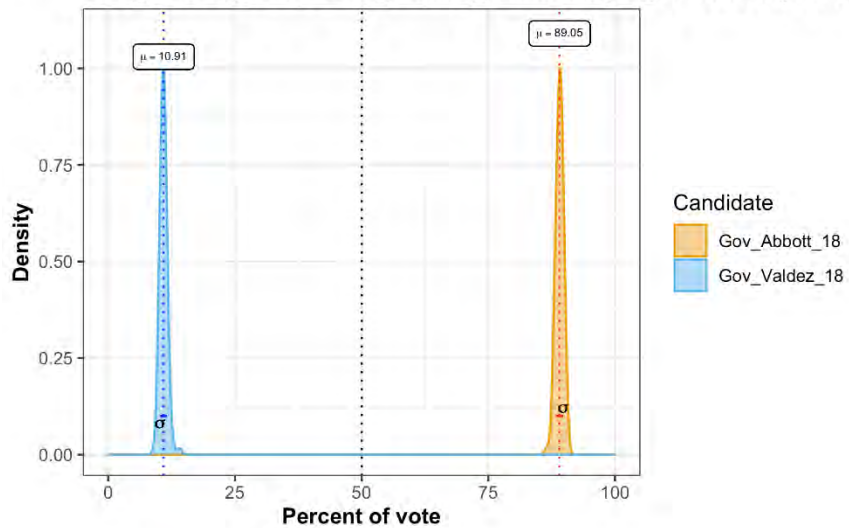
Gov_Abbott_18 vs Gov_Valdez_18 for Hisp_19 voters (overlap
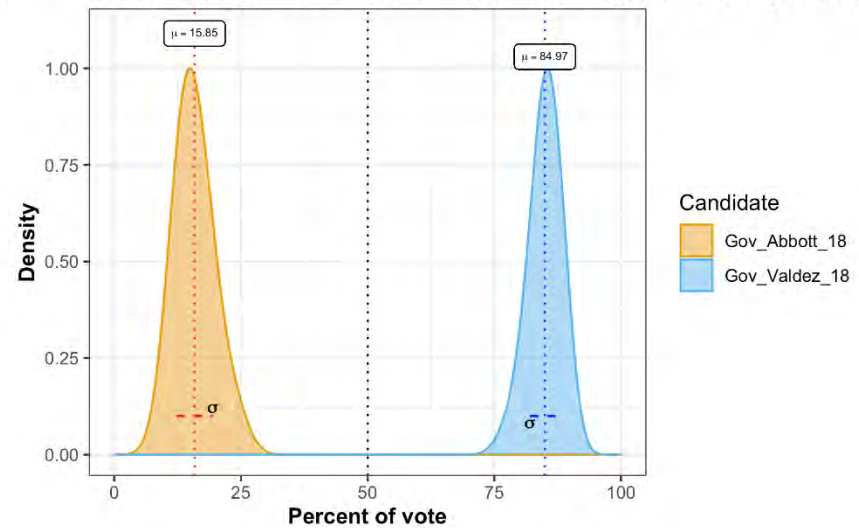
Gov_Abbott_18 vs Gov_Valdez_18 for Black_19 voters (overla
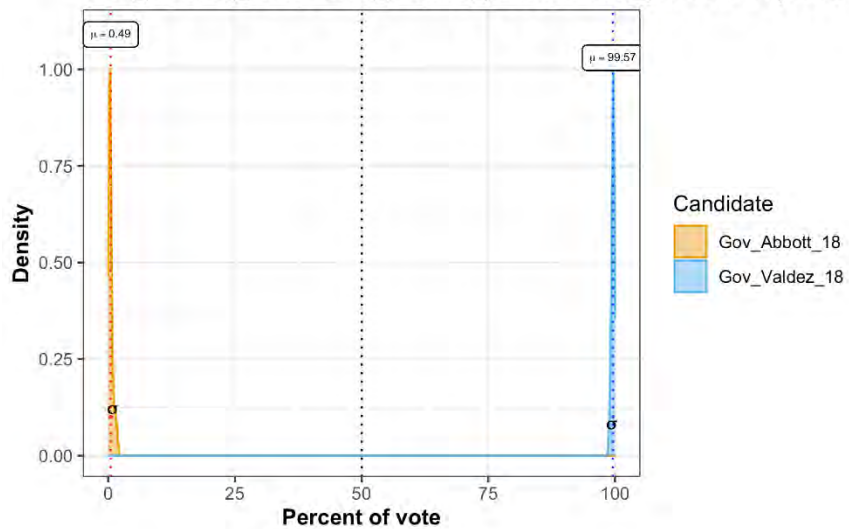
SSTO
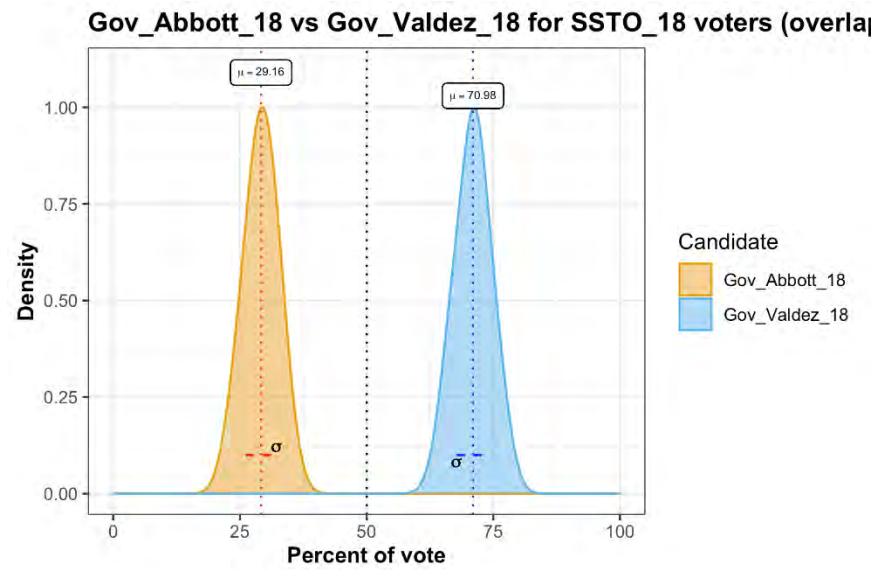
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

Gov_Abbott_18 vs Gov_Valdez_18 for Wht_Vote18 voters (ove
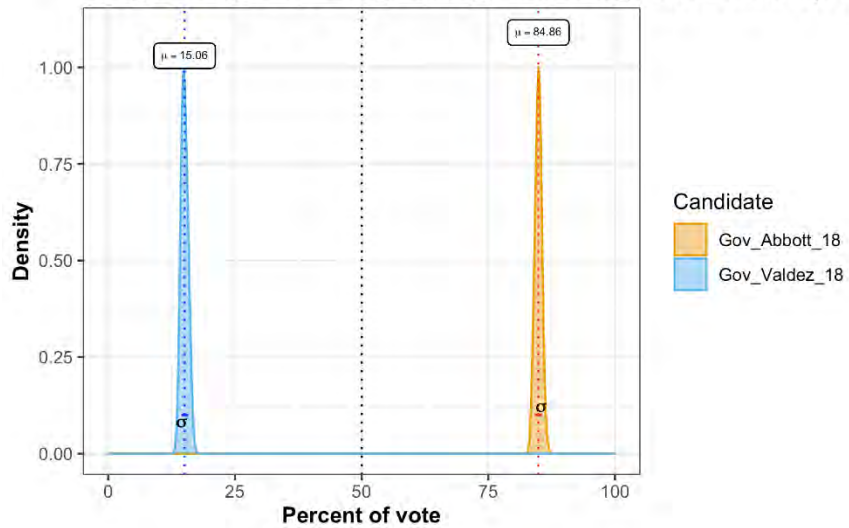
Gov_Abbott_18 vs Gov_Valdez_18 for Hsp_Vote18 voters (ove
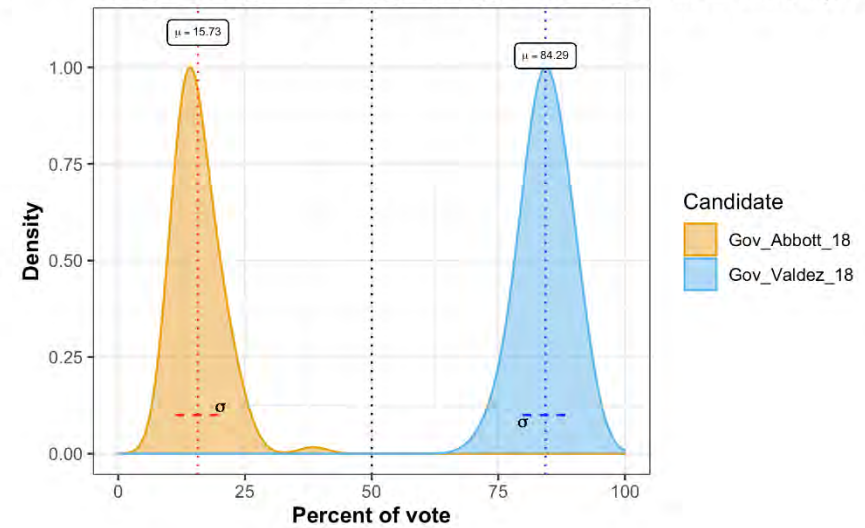
Gov_Abbott_18 vs Gov_Valdez_18 for Blk_Vote18 voters (over
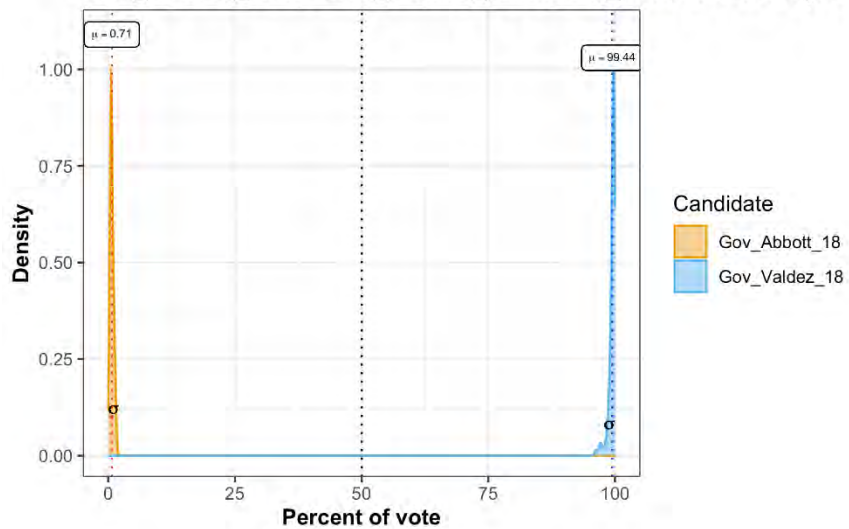
XVI.   2018 Lt. Governor

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

LtGov_Patrick_18 vs LtGov_Collier_18 for White_19 voters (ov

LtGov_Patrick_18 vs LtGov_Collier_18 for AllElse_19 voters (o

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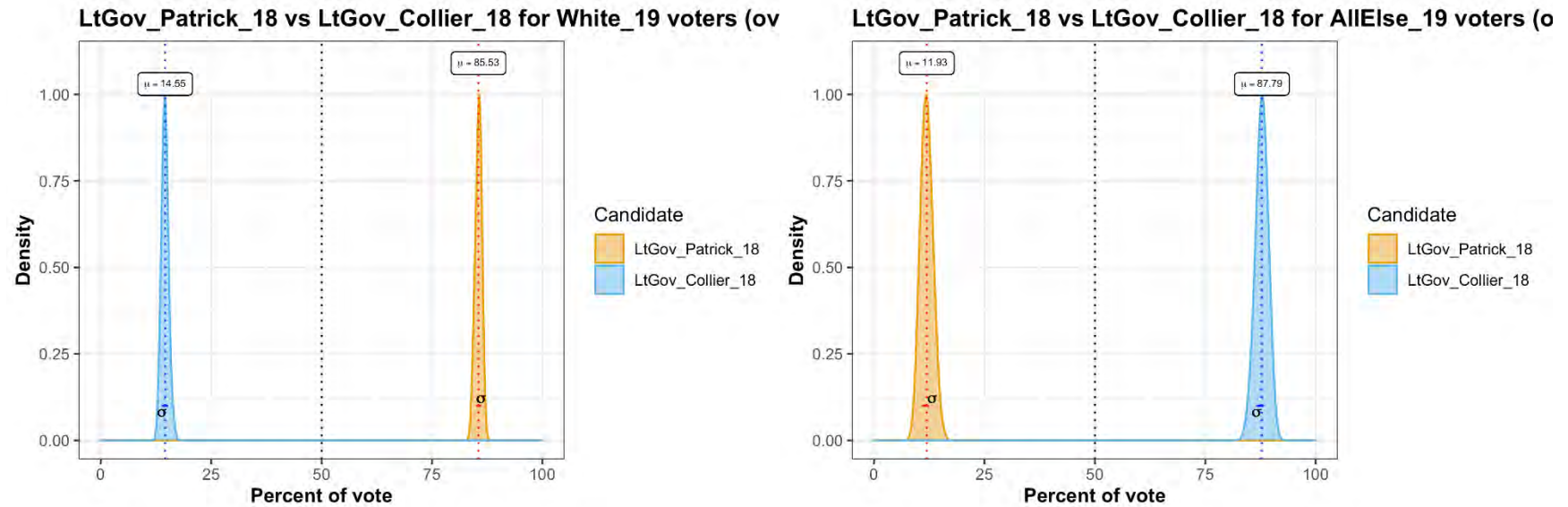
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

LtGov_Patrick_18 vs LtGov_Collier_18 for Anglo_19 voters (ov
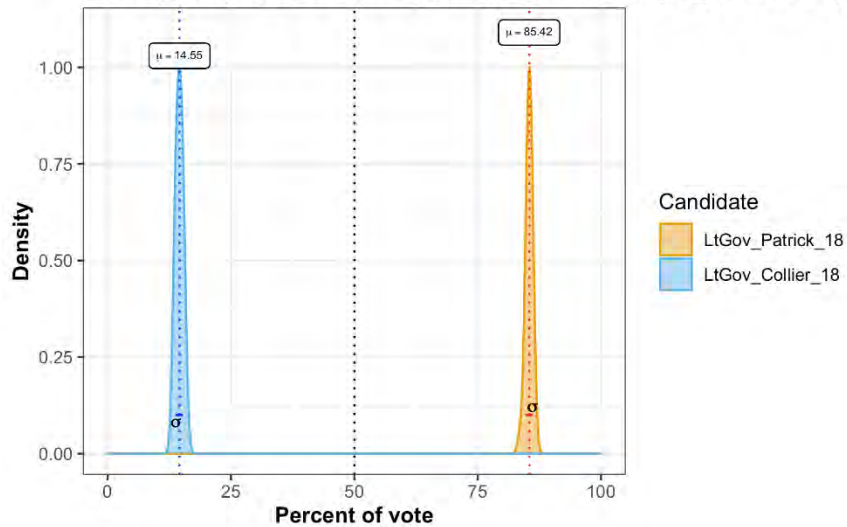
LtGov_Patrick_18 vs LtGov_Collier_18 for Hisp_19 voters (ove
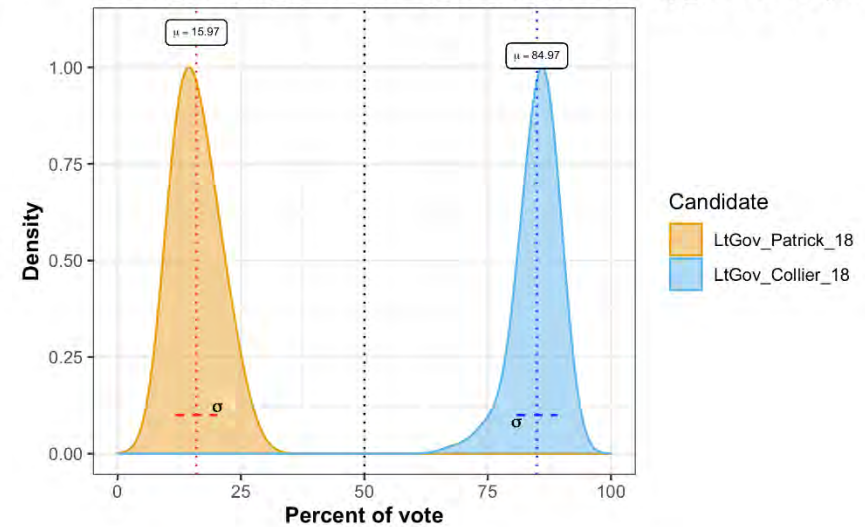
LtGov_Patrick_18 vs LtGov_Collier_18 for Black_19 voters (ov

SSTO

LtGov_Patrick_18 vs LtGov_Collier_18 for SSTO_18 voters (ov
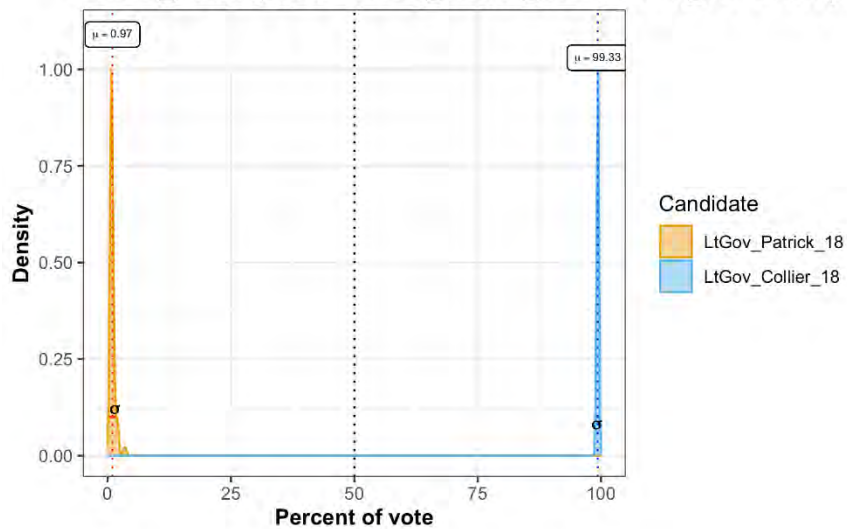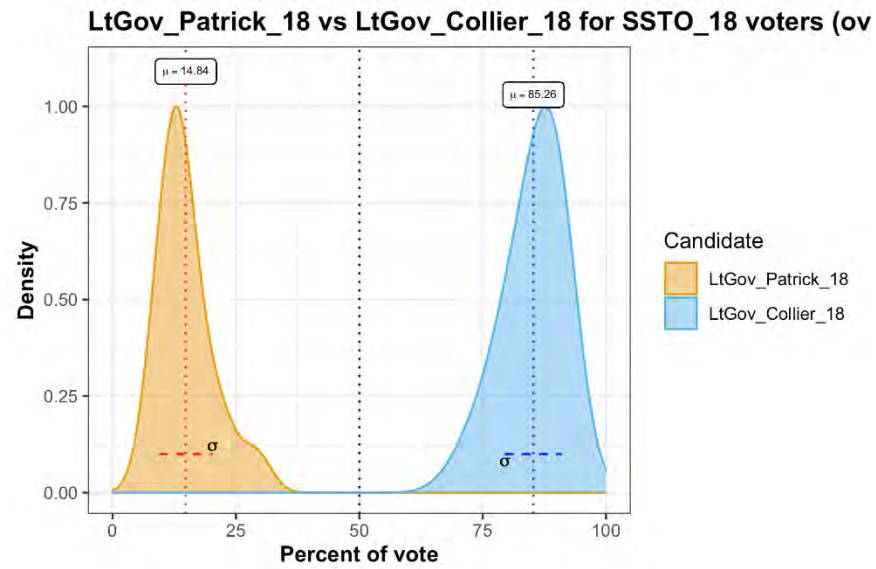
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
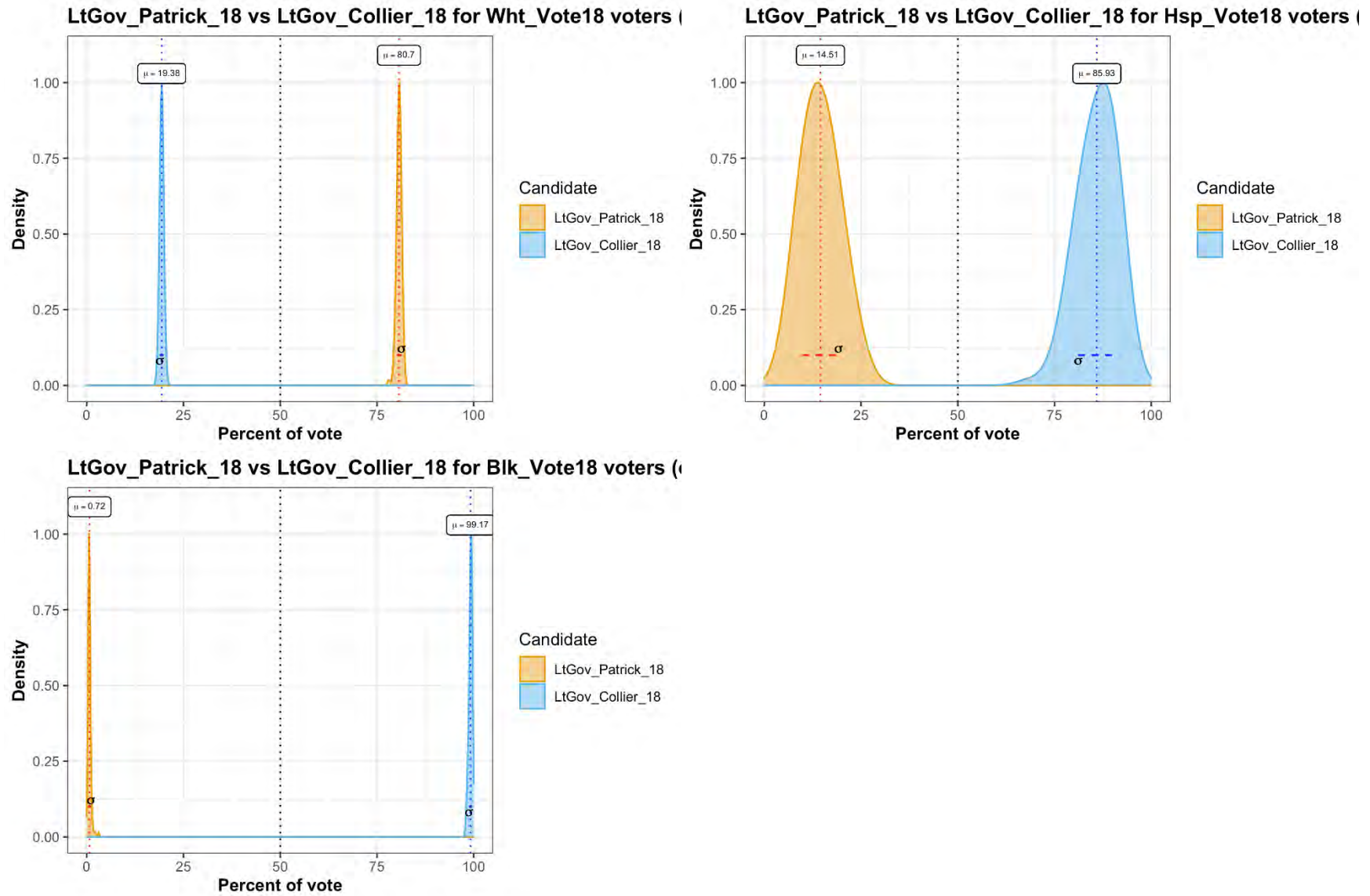
XVII. 2018 U.S. Senate

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

Senate_Cruz_18 vs Senate_O.Rourke_18 for White_19 voters (

μ = 15.71   μ = 84.21

Density | Percent of vote

Candidate
- Senate_Cruz_18
- Senate_O.Rourke_18

Senate_Cruz_18 vs Senate_O.Rourke_18 for AllElse_19 voters

μ = 11.45   μ = 88.6

Density | Percent of vote

Candidate
- Senate_Cruz_18
- Senate_O.Rourke_18

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Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

Senate_Cruz_18 vs Senate_O.Rourke_18 for Anglo_19 voters (

Senate_Cruz_18 vs Senate_O.Rourke_18 for Hisp_19 voters (o

Senate_Cruz_18 vs Senate_O.Rourke_18 for Black_19 voters (

SSTO

Senate_Cruz_18 vs Senate_O.Rourke_18 for SSTO_18 voters (

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

Senate_Cruz_18 vs Senate_O.Rourke_18 for Wht_Vote18 voter

μ = 20.46
μ = 79.6
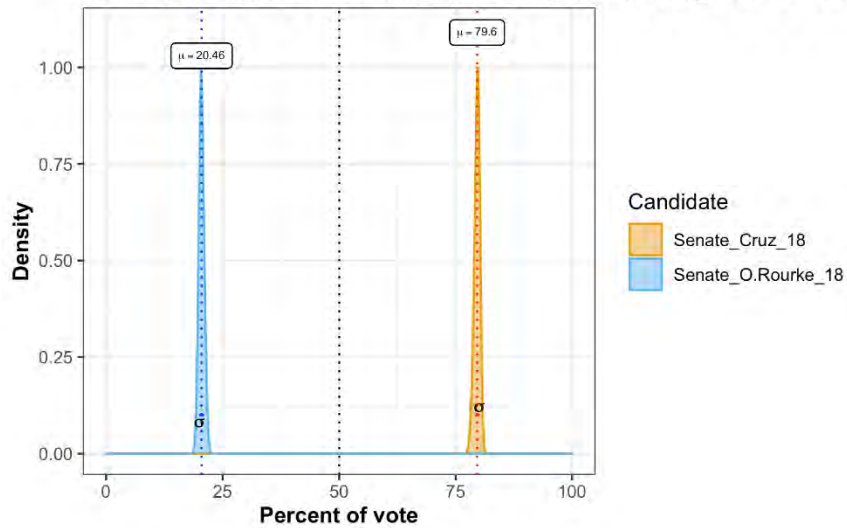
Senate_Cruz_18 vs Senate_O.Rourke_18 for Hsp_Vote18 voter

μ = 13.95
μ = 86.64

Candidate
- Senate_Cruz_18
- Senate_O.Rourke_18
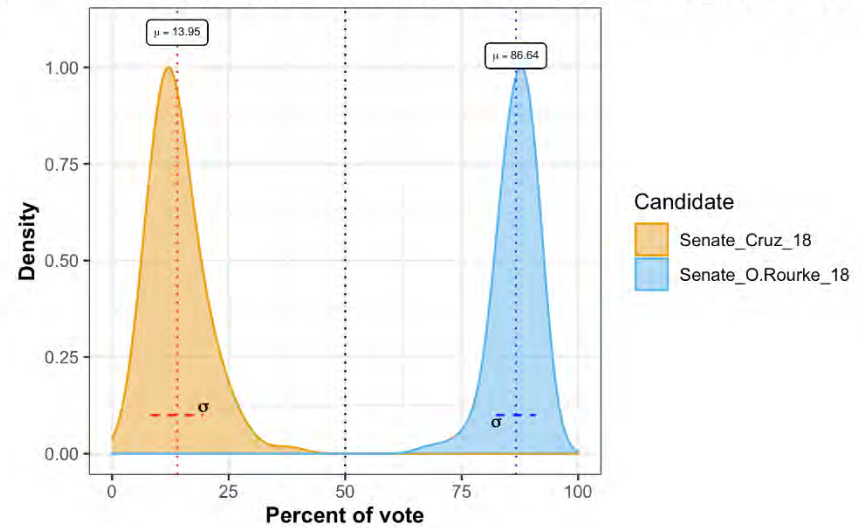
Senate_Cruz_18 vs Senate_O.Rourke_18 for Blk_Vote18 voters

μ = 0.83
μ = 98.85

Candidate
- Senate_Cruz_18
- Senate_O.Rourke_18

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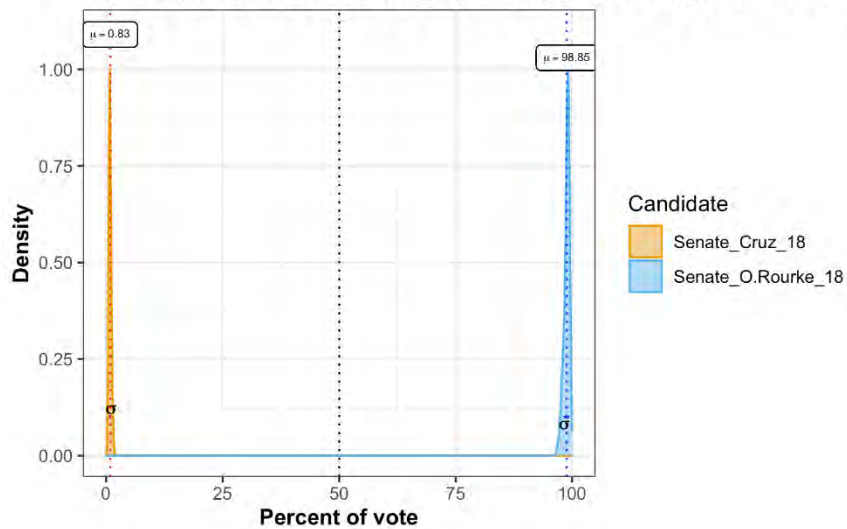
XVIII. 2018 U.S. House of Reps, District #14

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
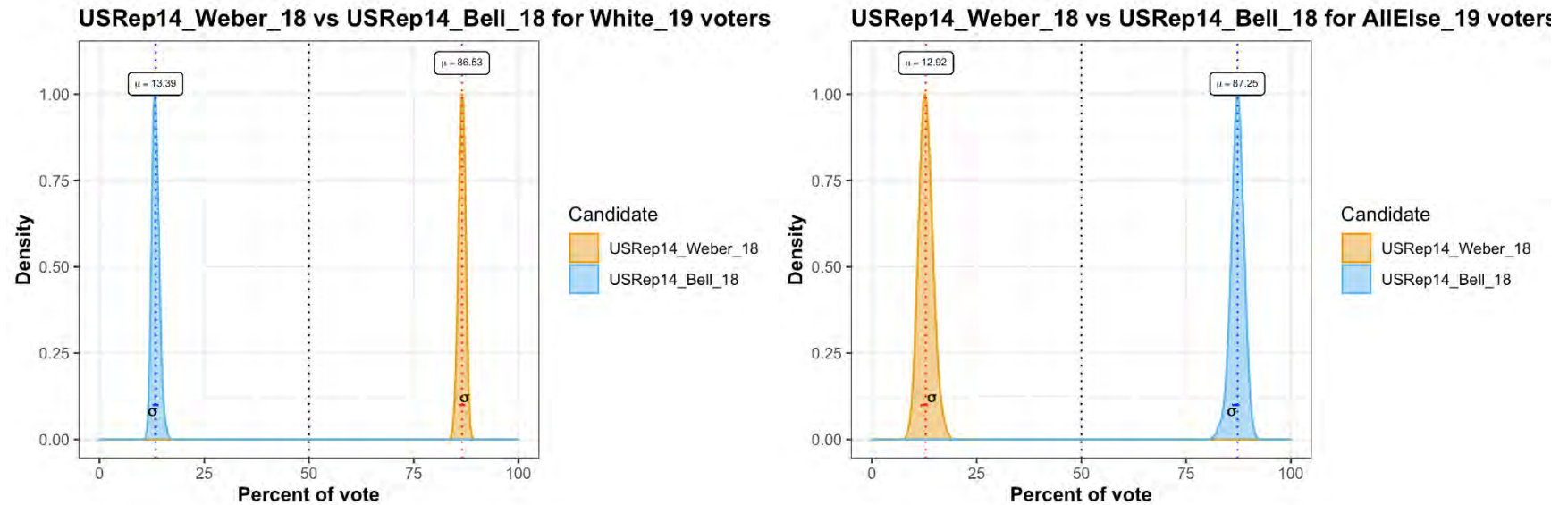
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

USRep14_Weber_18 vs USRep14_Bell_18 for Anglo_19 voters
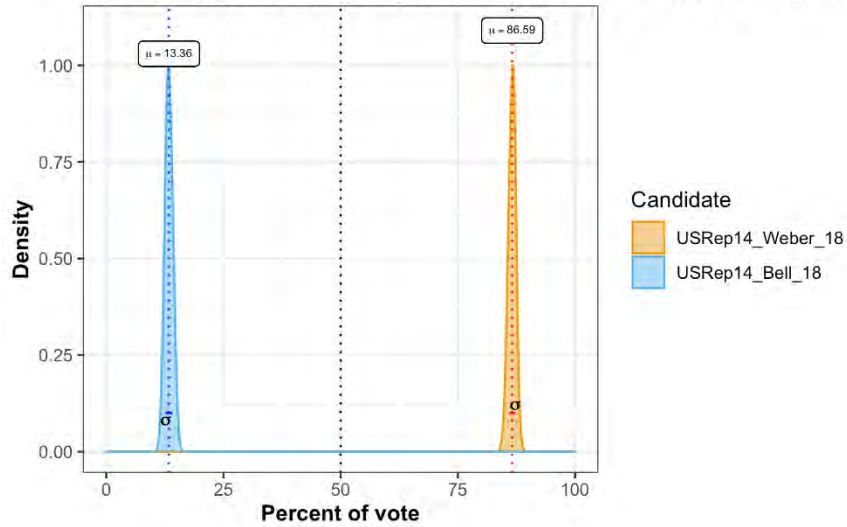
USRep14_Weber_18 vs USRep14_Bell_18 for Hisp_19 voters
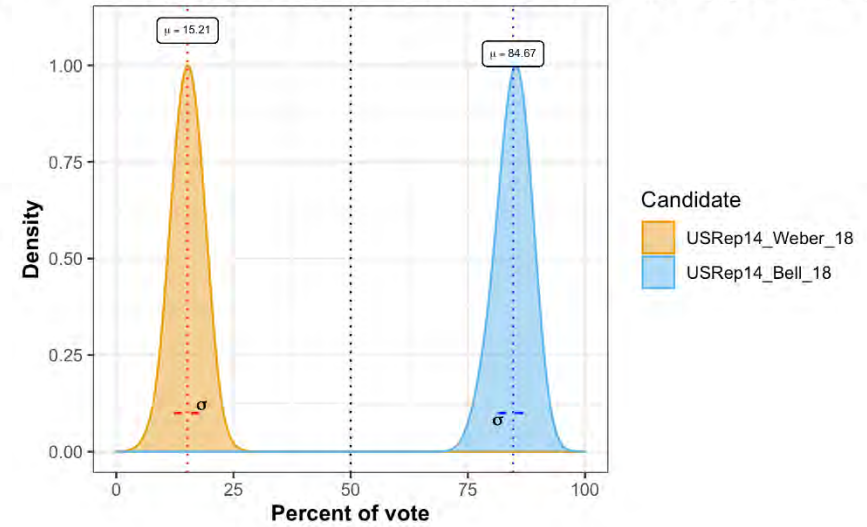
USRep14_Weber_18 vs USRep14_Bell_18 for Black_19 voters
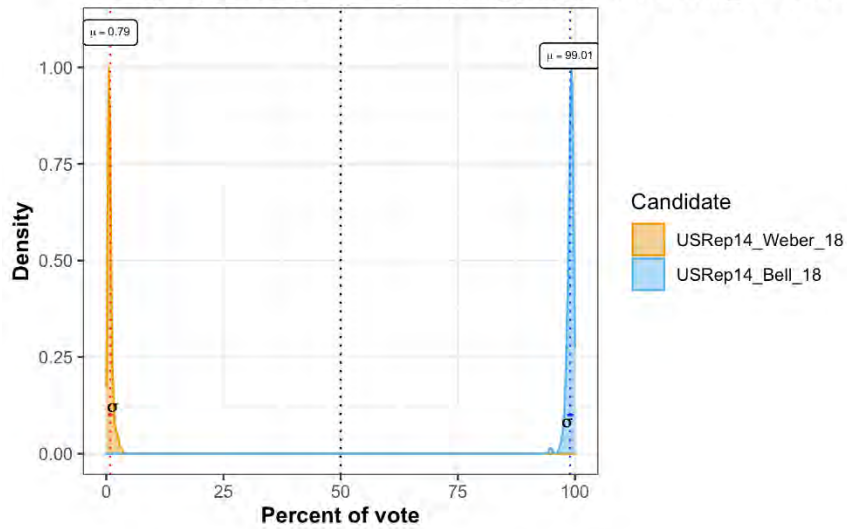
SSTO

USRep14_Weber_18 vs USRep14_Bell_18 for SSTO_18 voters
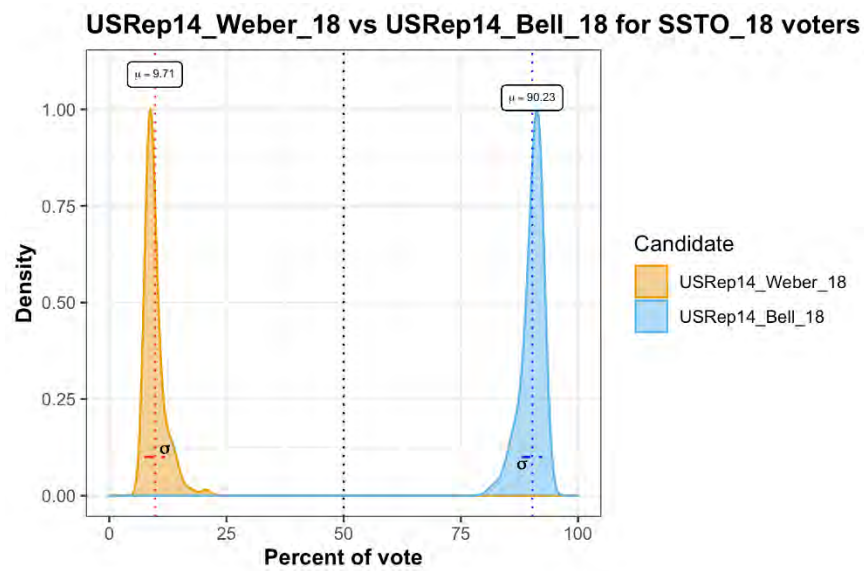
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

USRep14_Weber_18 vs USRep14_Bell_18 for Wht_Vote18 vote
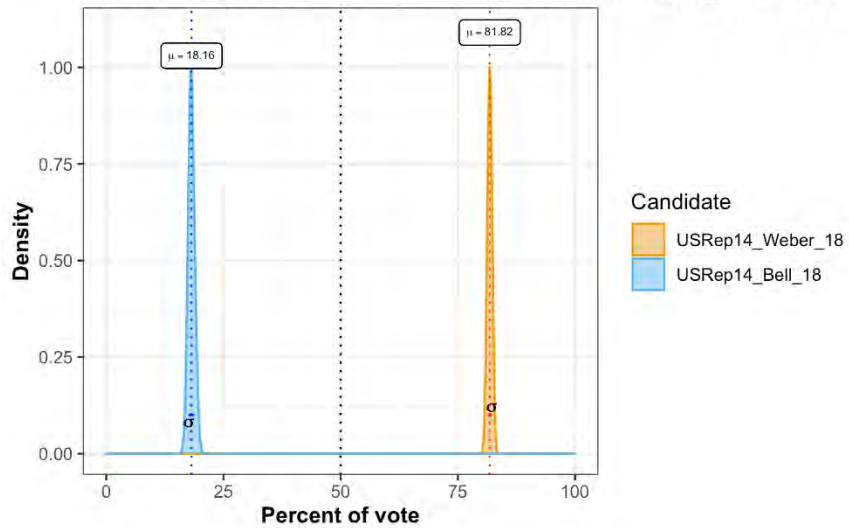
USRep14_Weber_18 vs USRep14_Bell_18 for Hsp_Vote18 vote
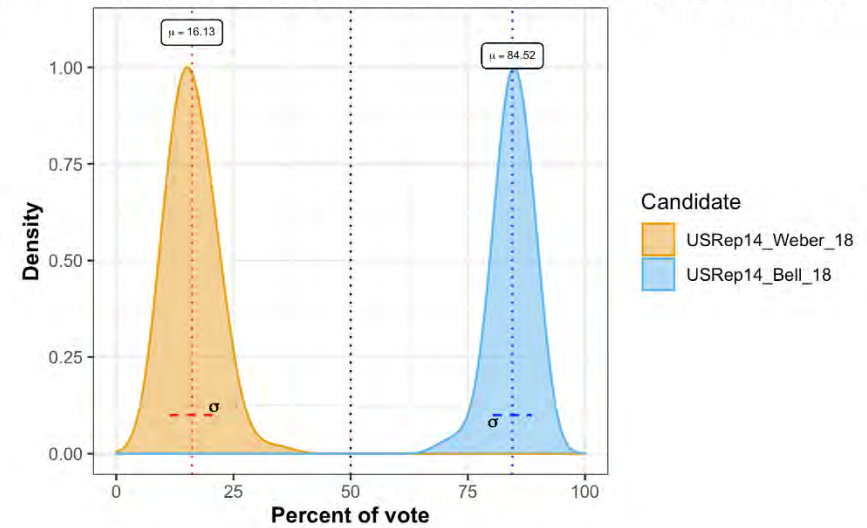
USRep14_Weber_18 vs USRep14_Bell_18 for Blk_Vote18 voter

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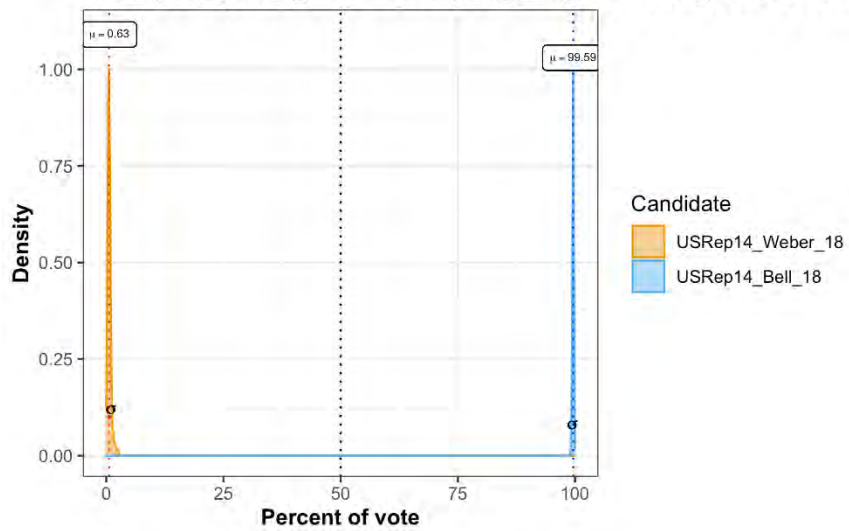
XIX.   2016 President

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

Pres_Trump_16 vs Pres_Clinton_16 for White_16 voters (overl...

Pres_Trump_16 vs Pres_Clinton_16 for AllElse_16 voters (over...

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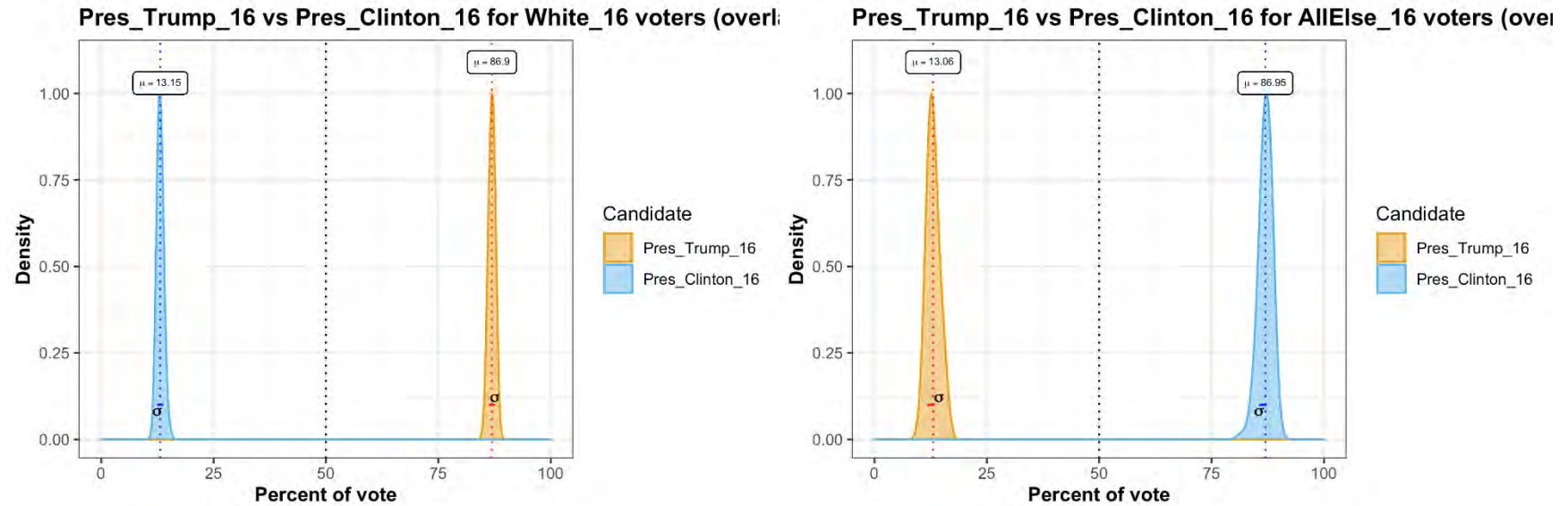
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

Pres_Trump_16 vs Pres_Clinton_16 for Anglo_16 voters (overl

μ = 13.08

μ = 86.96

Candidate

Pres_Trump_16
Pres_Clinton_16
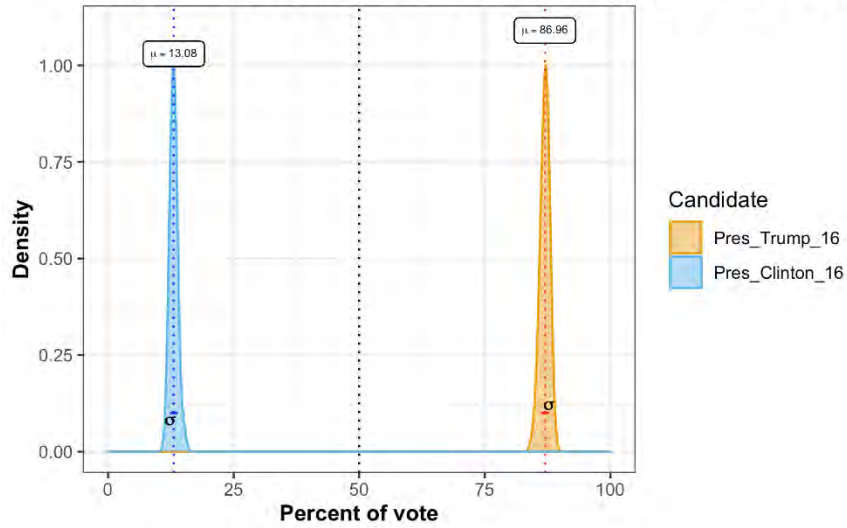
Pres_Trump_16 vs Pres_Clinton_16 for Hisp_16 voters (overla

μ = 16.84

μ = 83.2

Candidate

Pres_Trump_16
Pres_Clinton_16
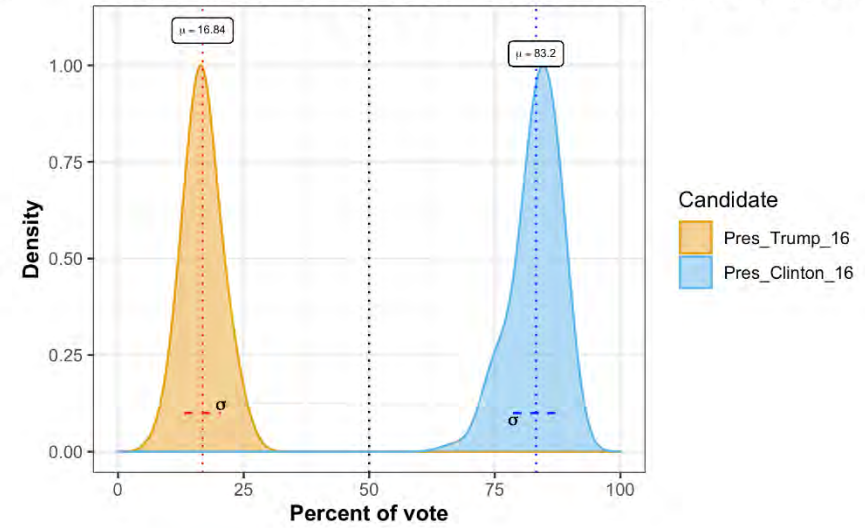
Pres_Trump_16 vs Pres_Clinton_16 for Black_16 voters (overl

μ = 0.65

μ = 99.59

Candidate

Pres_Trump_16
Pres_Clinton_16

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SSTO

Pres_Trump_16 vs Pres_Clinton_16 for SSTO_16 voters (overl...

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

XX.   2016 Supreme Court Justice, Position #5

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
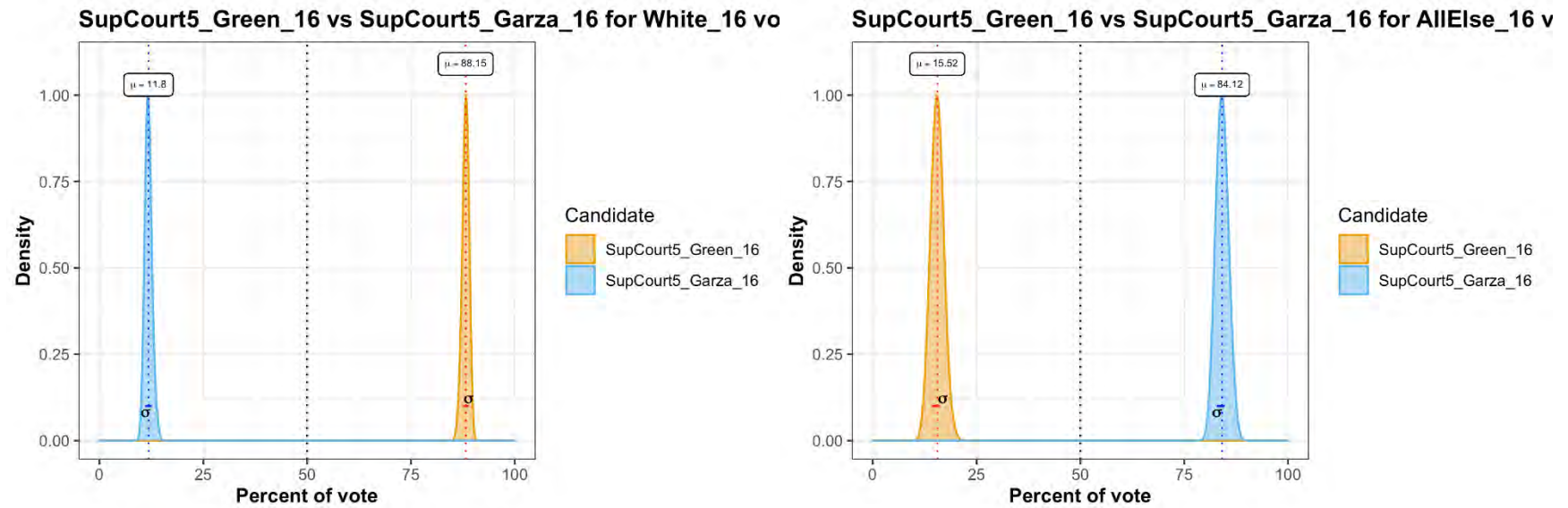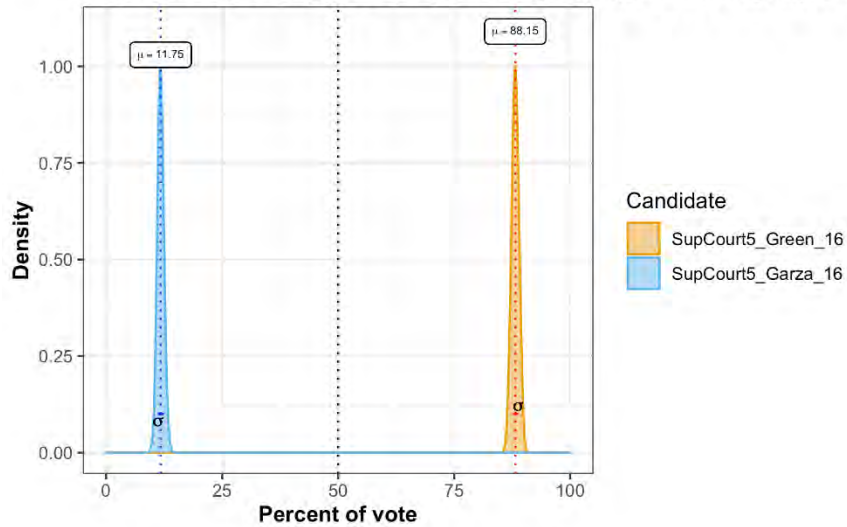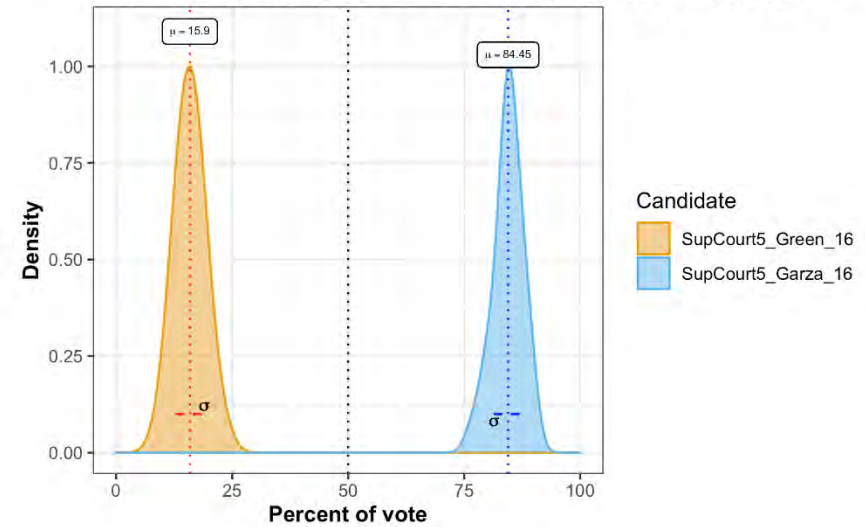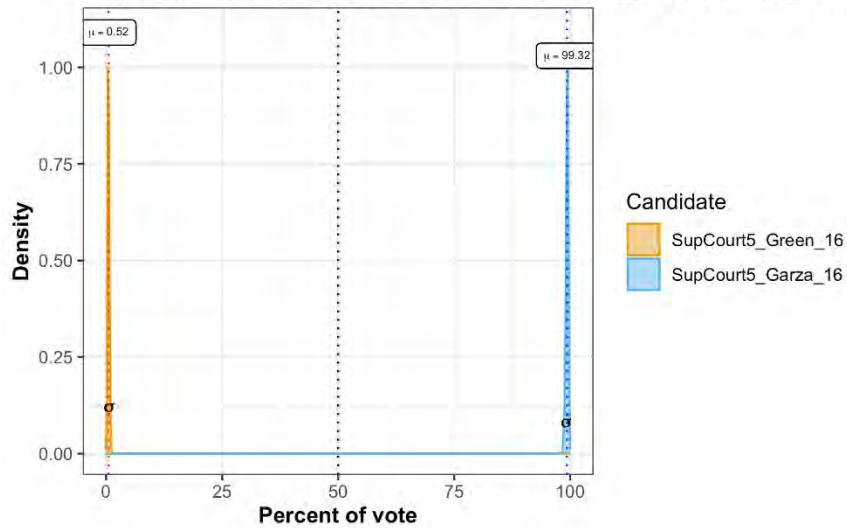
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO
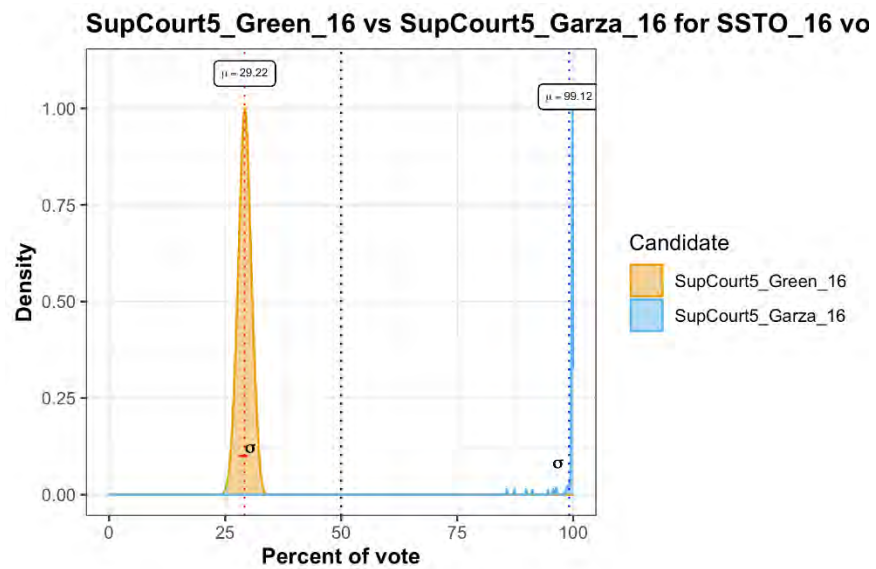
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
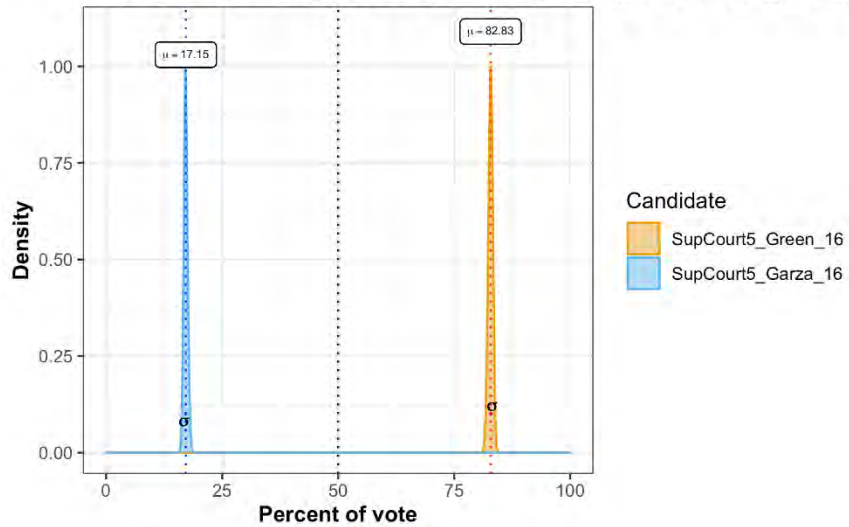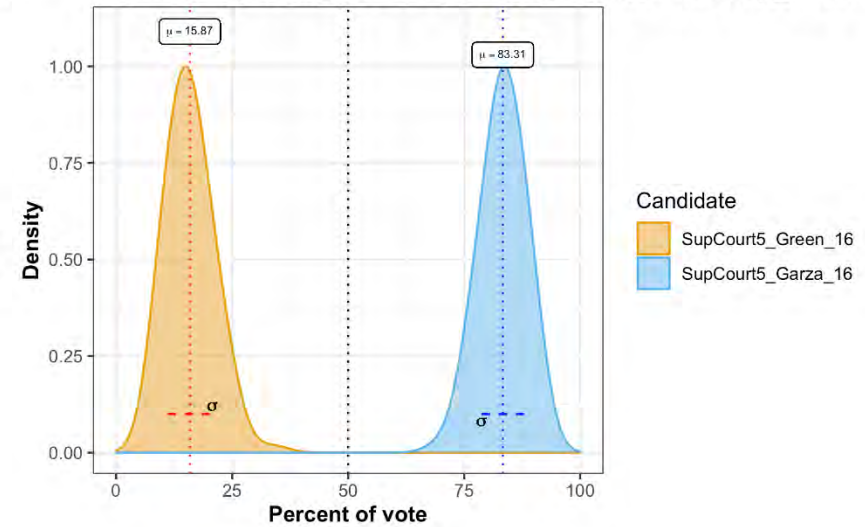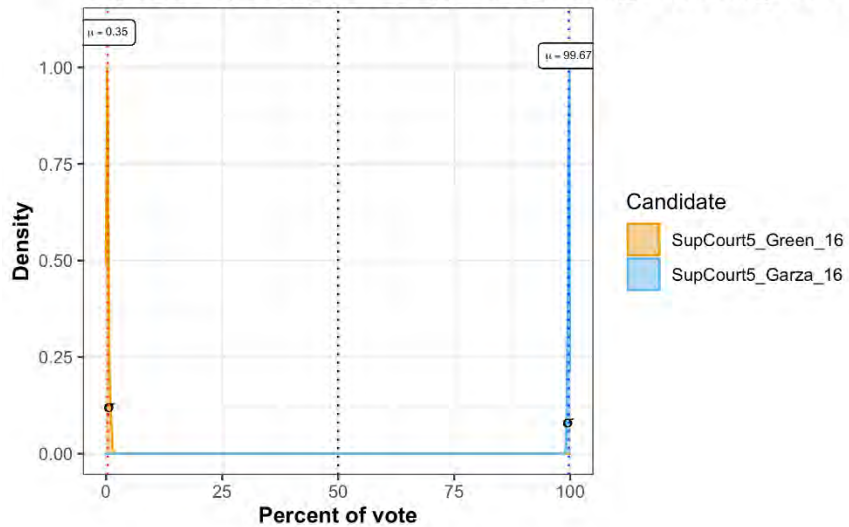
XXI.   2016 U.S. House of Reps, District #14

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
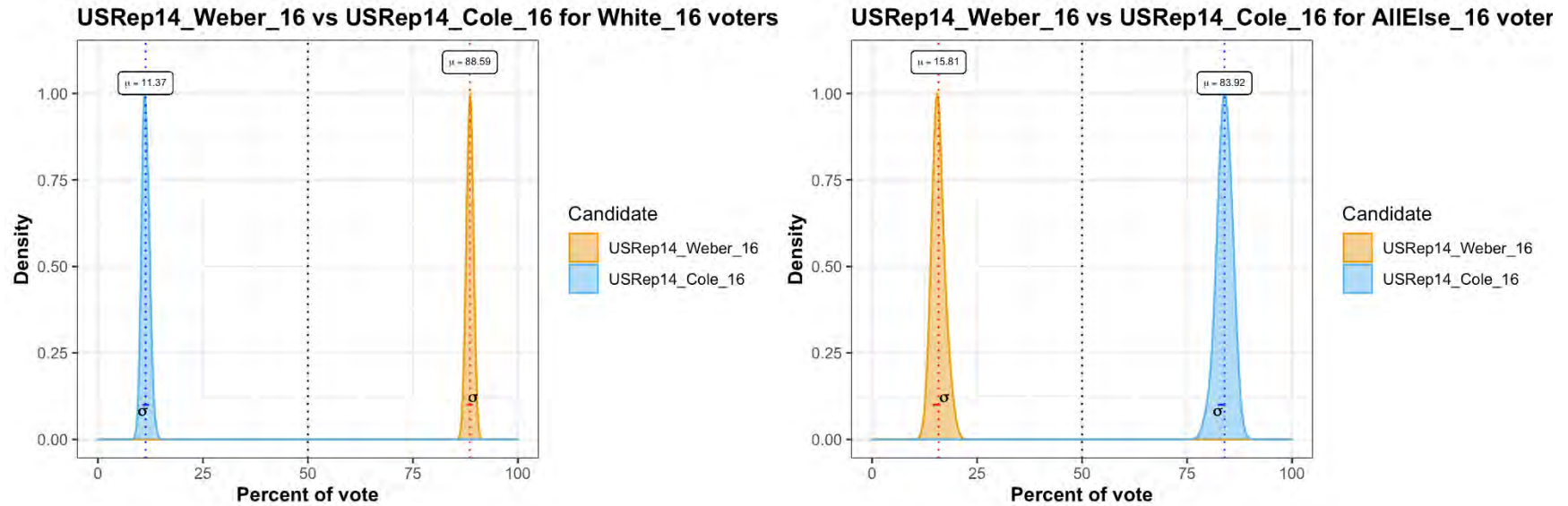
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

USRep14_Weber_16 vs USRep14_Cole_16 for Anglo_16 voters
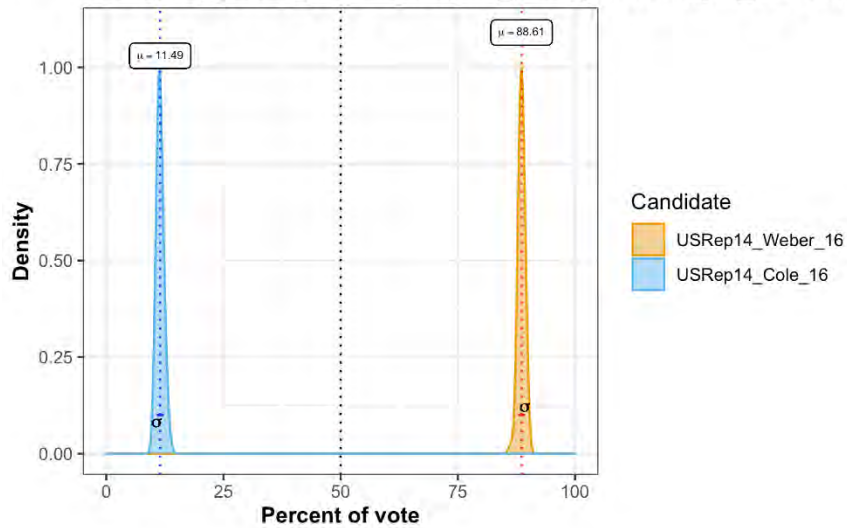
USRep14_Weber_16 vs USRep14_Cole_16 for Hisp_16 voters (
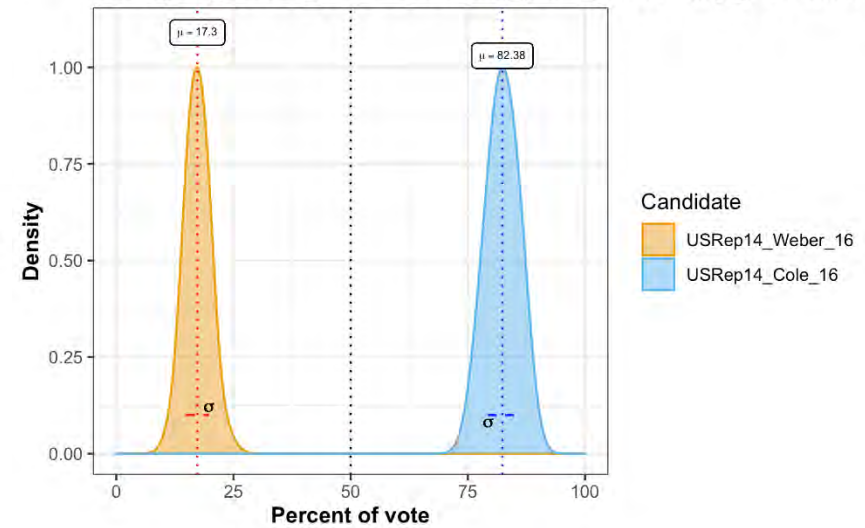
USRep14_Weber_16 vs USRep14_Cole_16 for Black_16 voters
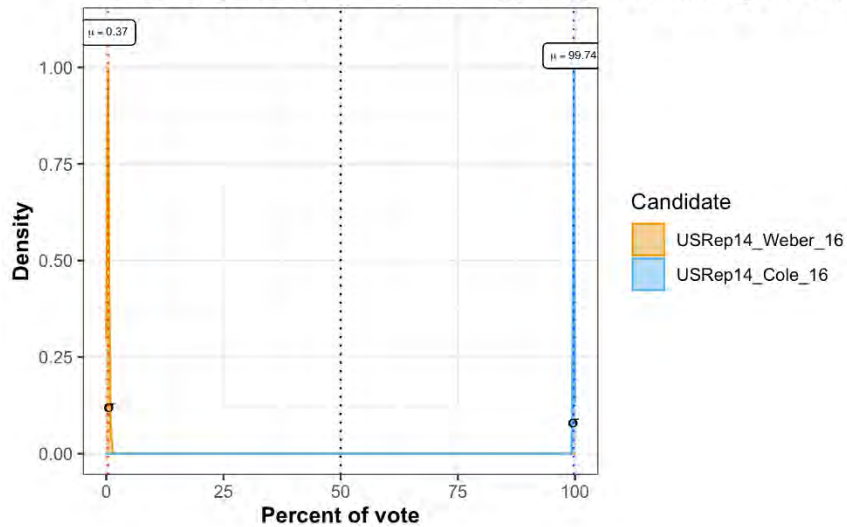
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USRep14_Weber_16 vs USRep14_Cole_16 for SSTO_16 voters
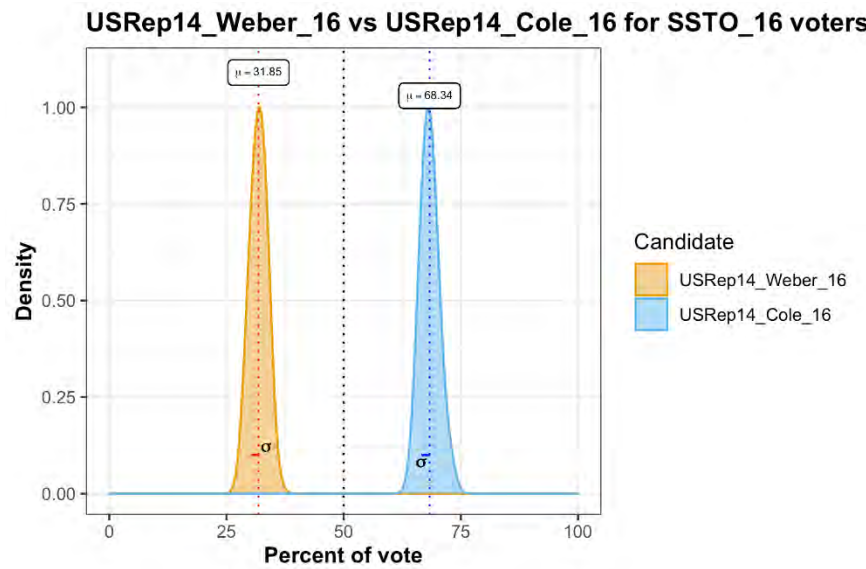
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

USRep14_Weber_16 vs USRep14_Cole_16 for Wht_Vote16 vote
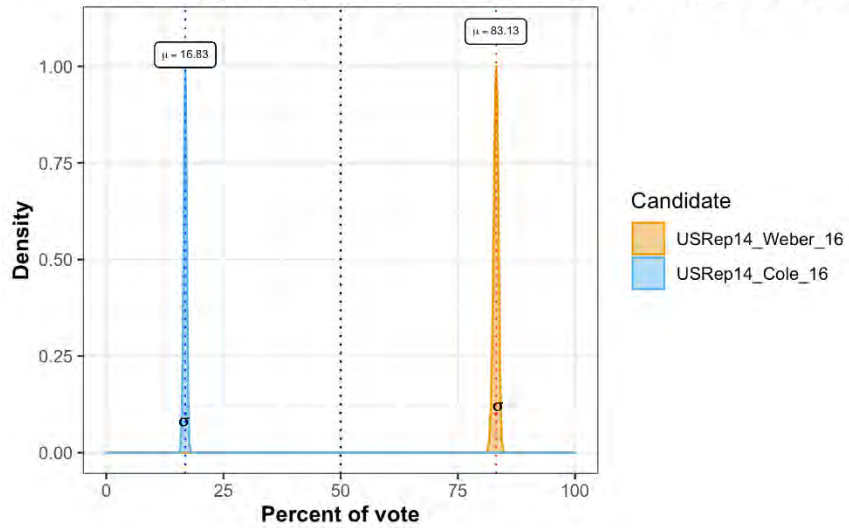
USRep14_Weber_16 vs USRep14_Cole_16 for Hsp_Vote16 vote
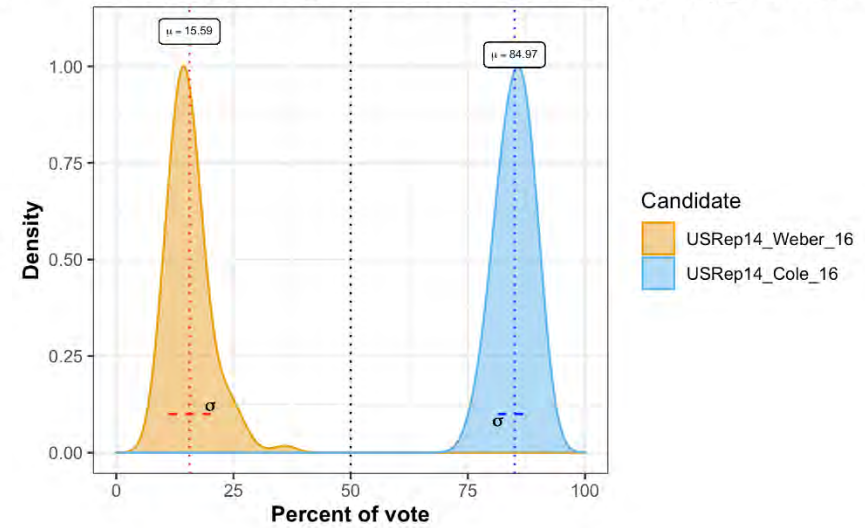
USRep14_Weber_16 vs USRep14_Cole_16 for Blk_Vote16 vote

p 136
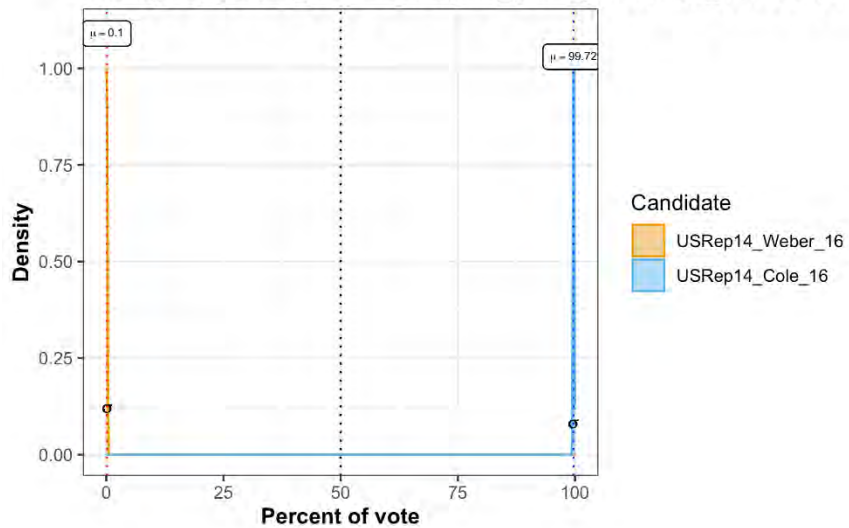
XXII. 2016 District 10 Judge

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
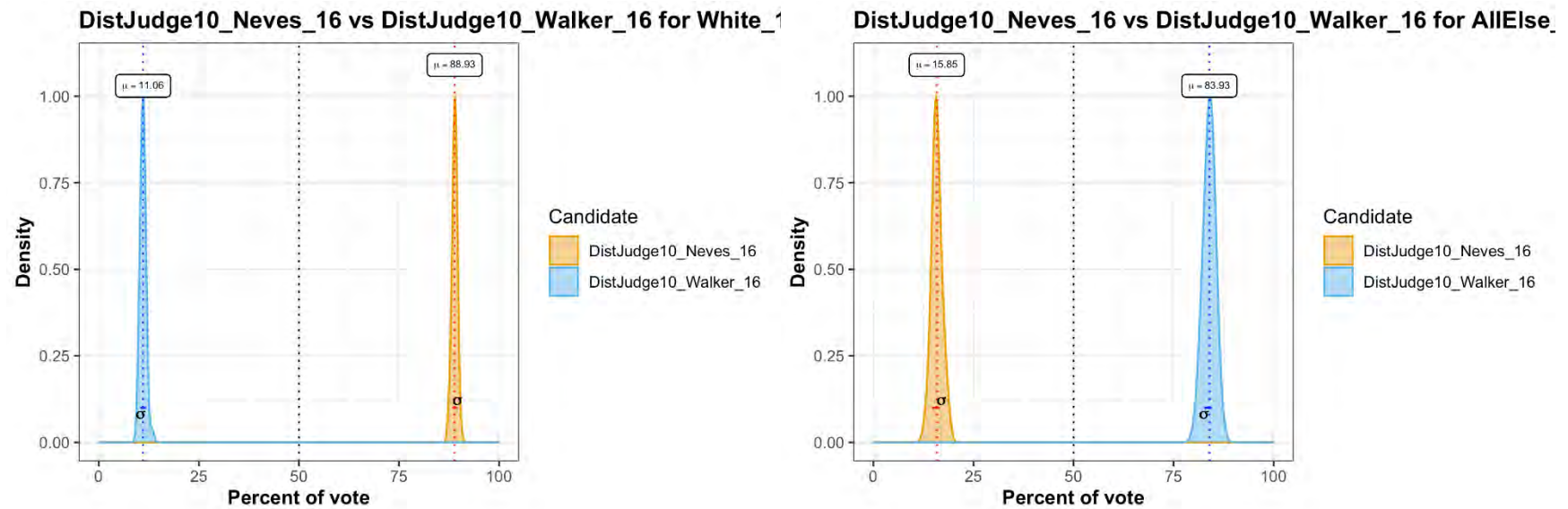
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

DistJudge10_Neves_16 vs DistJudge10_Walker_16 for Anglo_
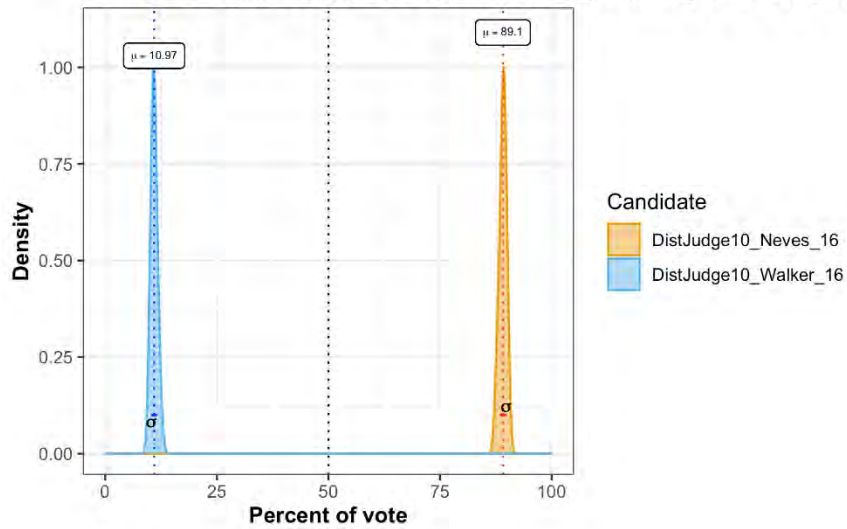
DistJudge10_Neves_16 vs DistJudge10_Walker_16 for Hisp_16
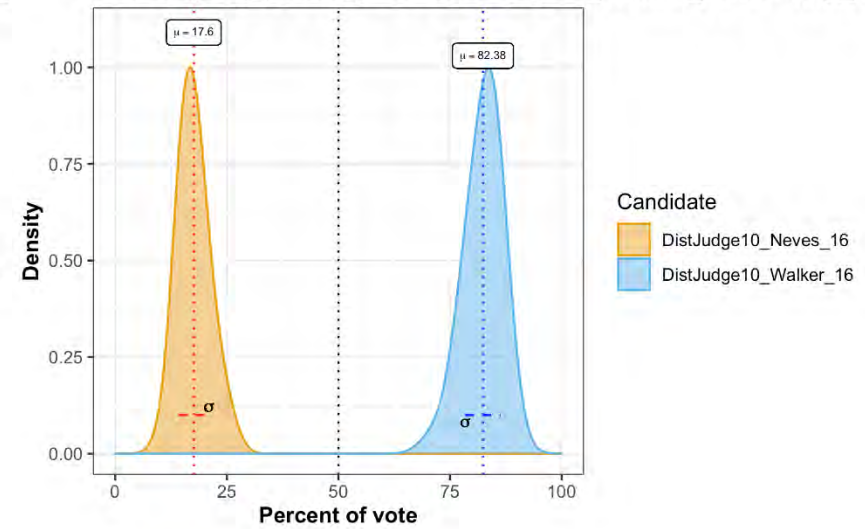
DistJudge10_Neves_16 vs DistJudge10_Walker_16 for Black_1

SSTO

DistJudge10_Neves_16 vs DistJudge10_Walker_16 for SSTO_1
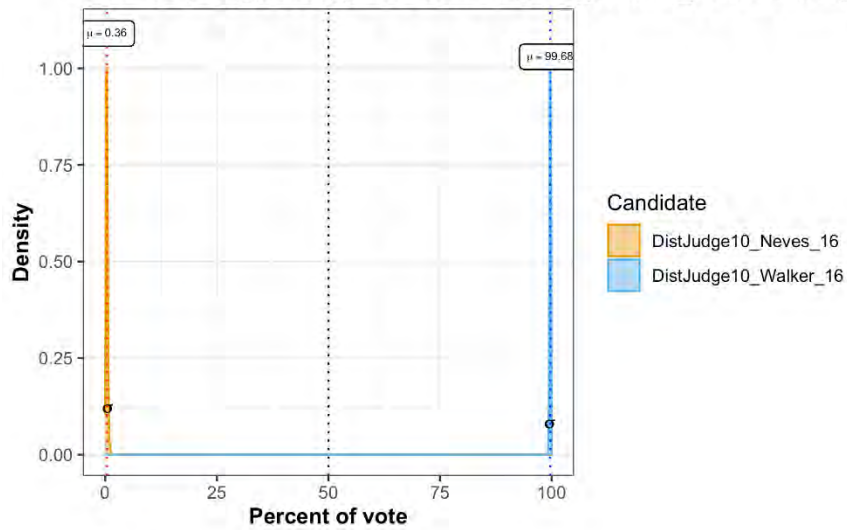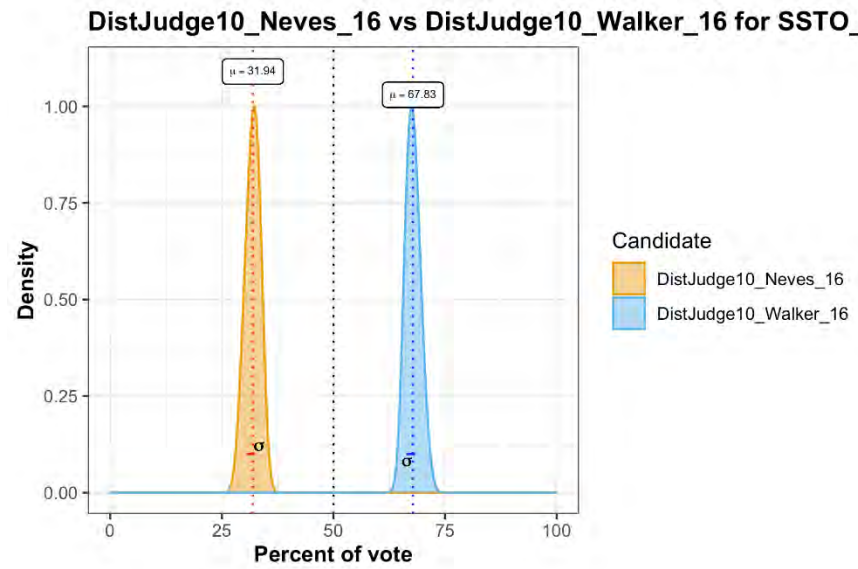
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

DistJudge10_Neves_16 vs DistJudge10_Walker_16 for Wht_Vo
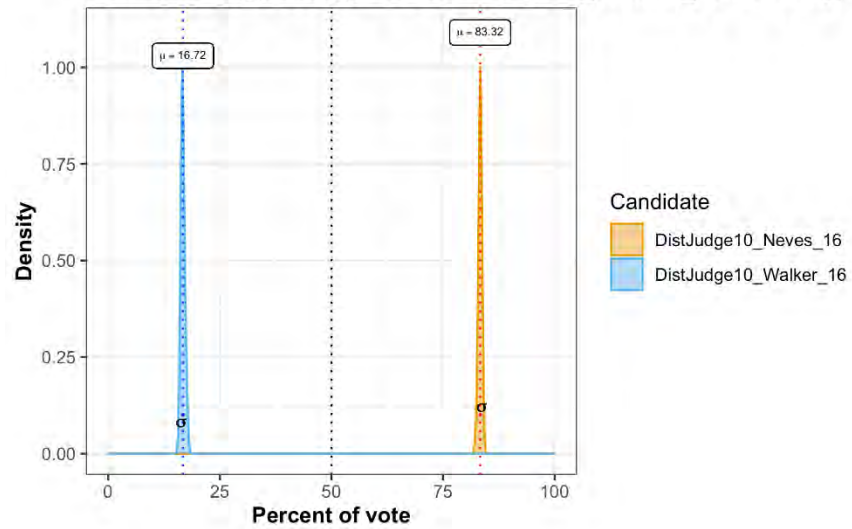
DistJudge10_Neves_16 vs DistJudge10_Walker_16 for Hsp_Vo

DistJudge10_Neves_16 vs DistJudge10_Walker_16 for Blk_Vot

XXIII. 2014 Attorney General
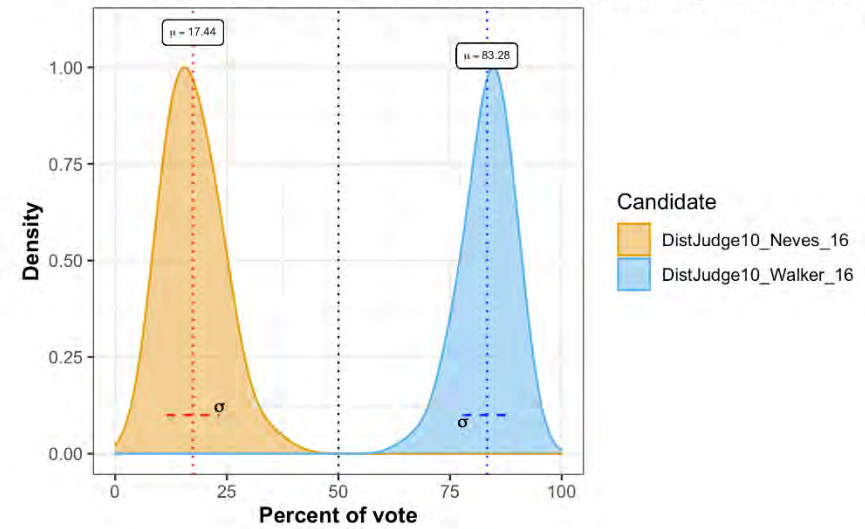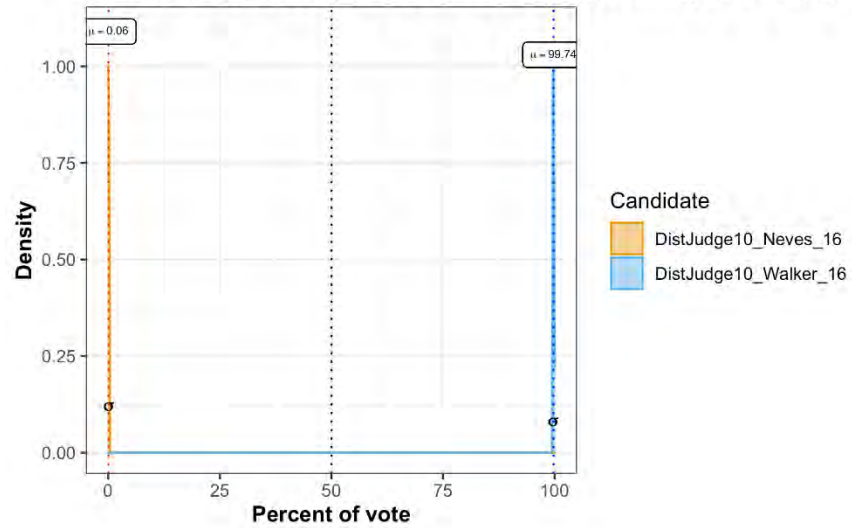
Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)

AG_Paxton_14 vs AG_Houston_14 for White_16 voters (overla
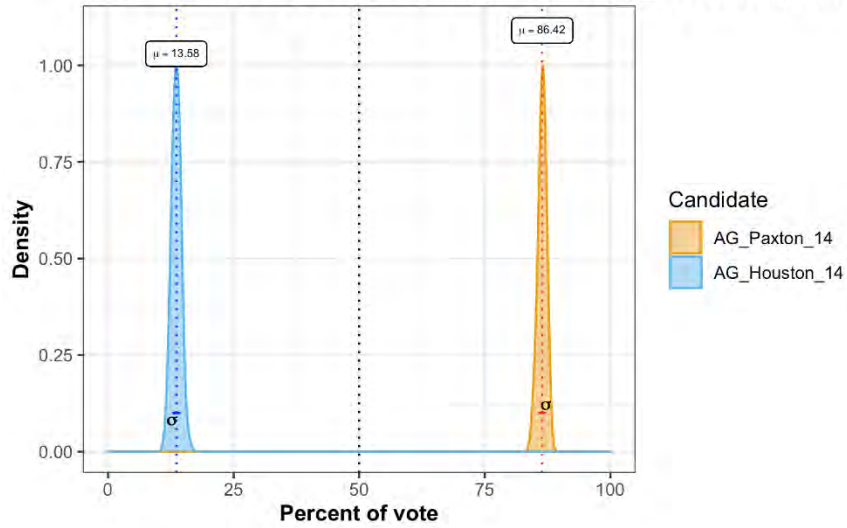
AG_Paxton_14 vs AG_Houston_14 for AllElse_16 voters (overl
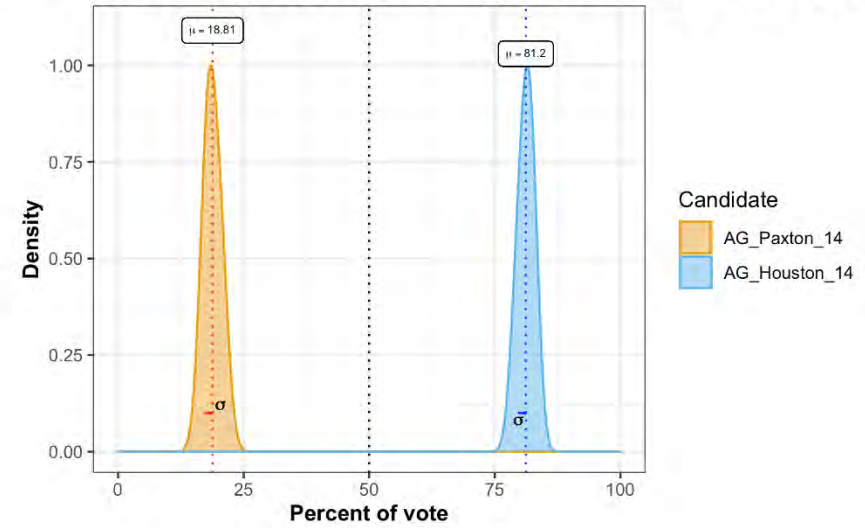
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

AG_Paxton_14 vs AG_Houston_14 for Anglo_16 voters (overla
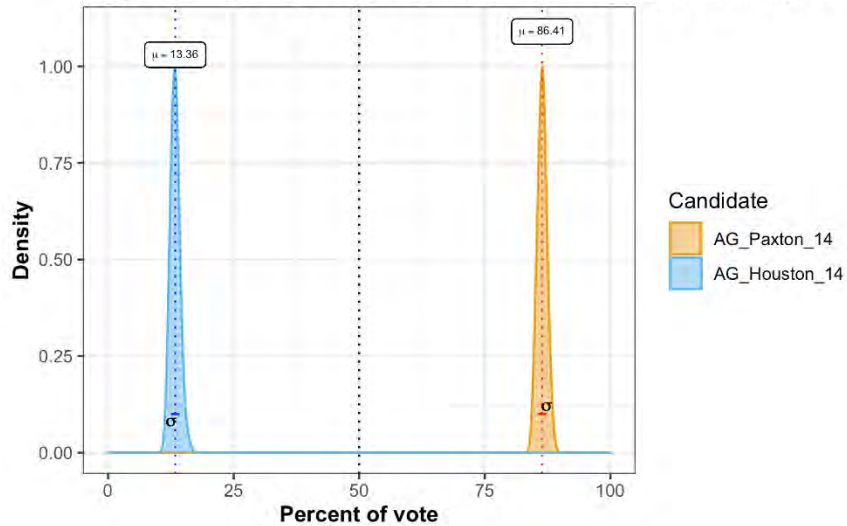
AG_Paxton_14 vs AG_Houston_14 for Hisp_16 voters (overlap
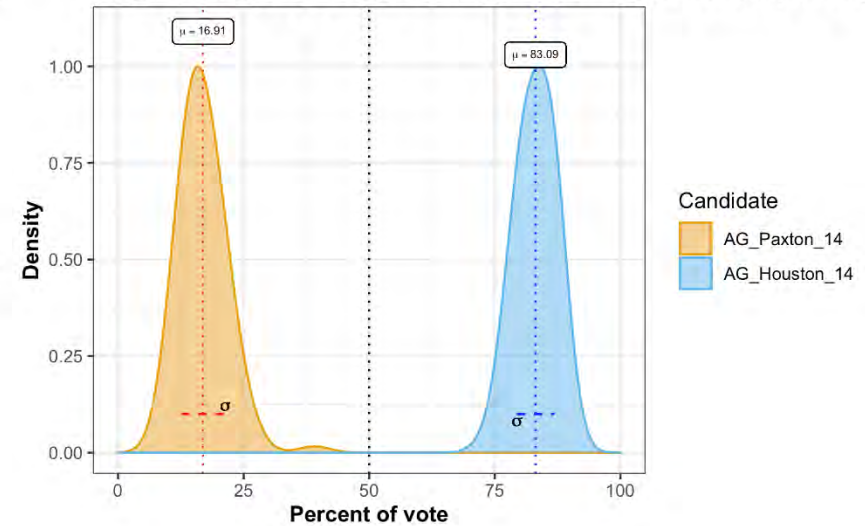
AG_Paxton_14 vs AG_Houston_14 for Black_16 voters (overla
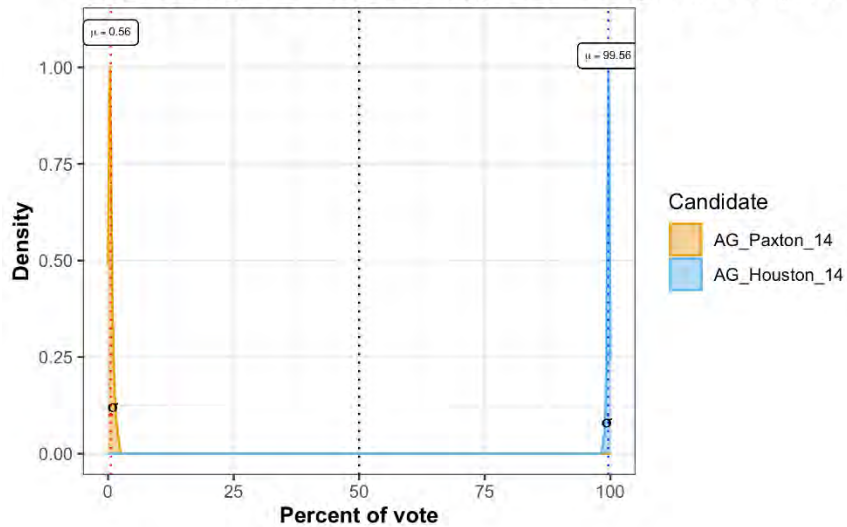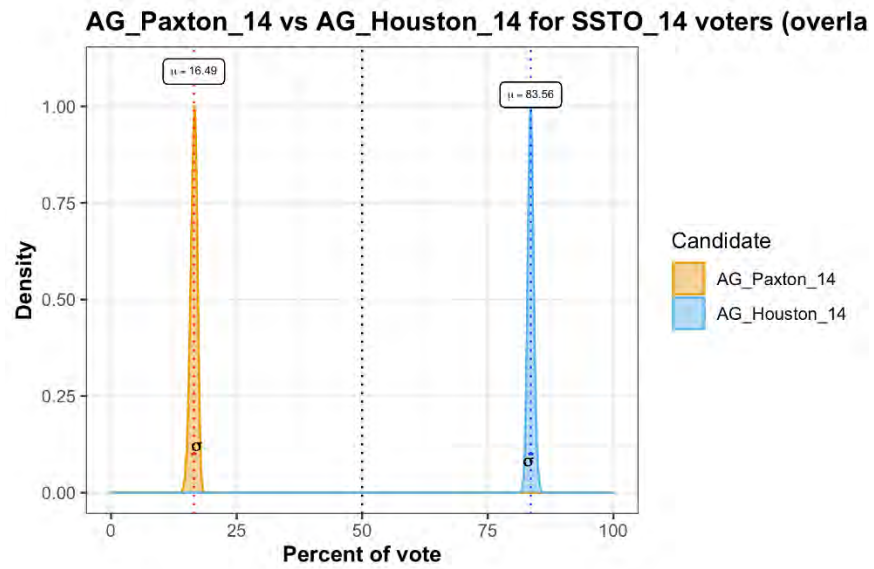
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AG_Paxton_14 vs AG_Houston_14 for SSTO_14 voters (overla

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
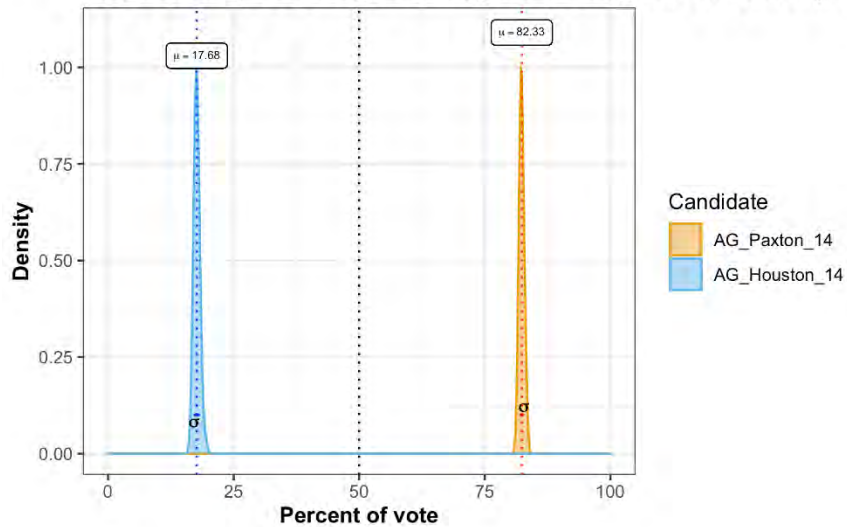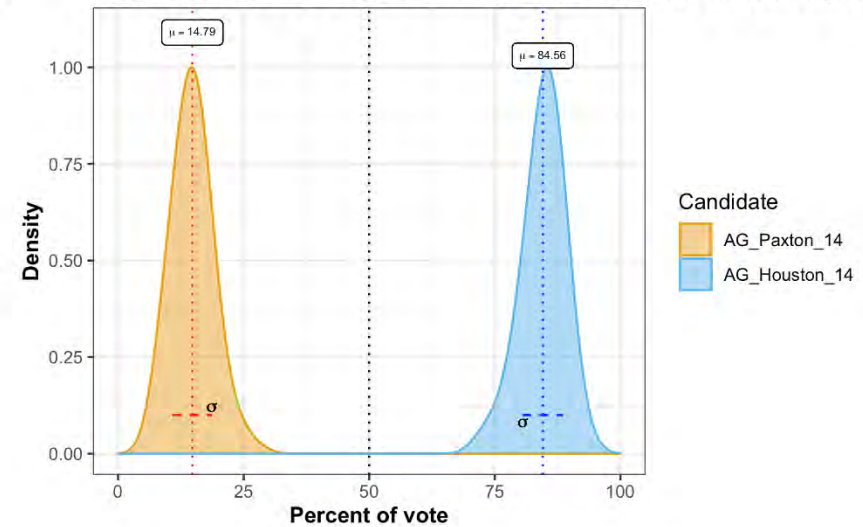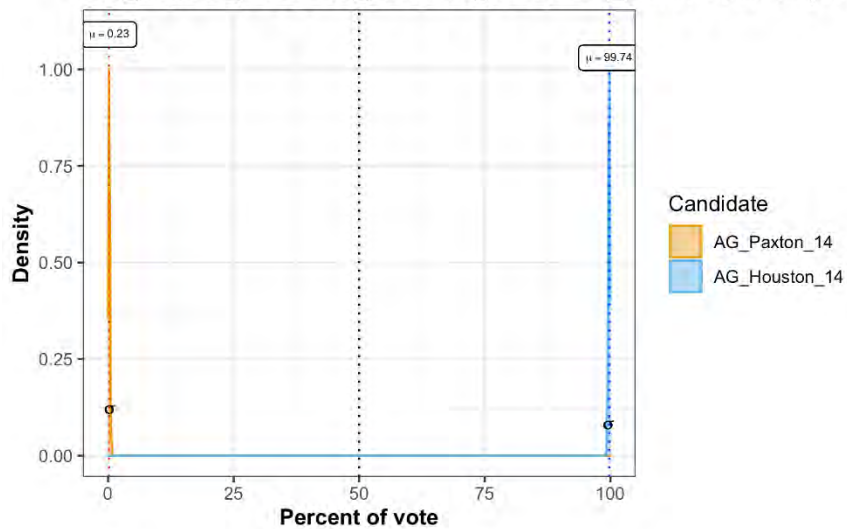
XXIV. 2014 County Commissioner, Precinct #4

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
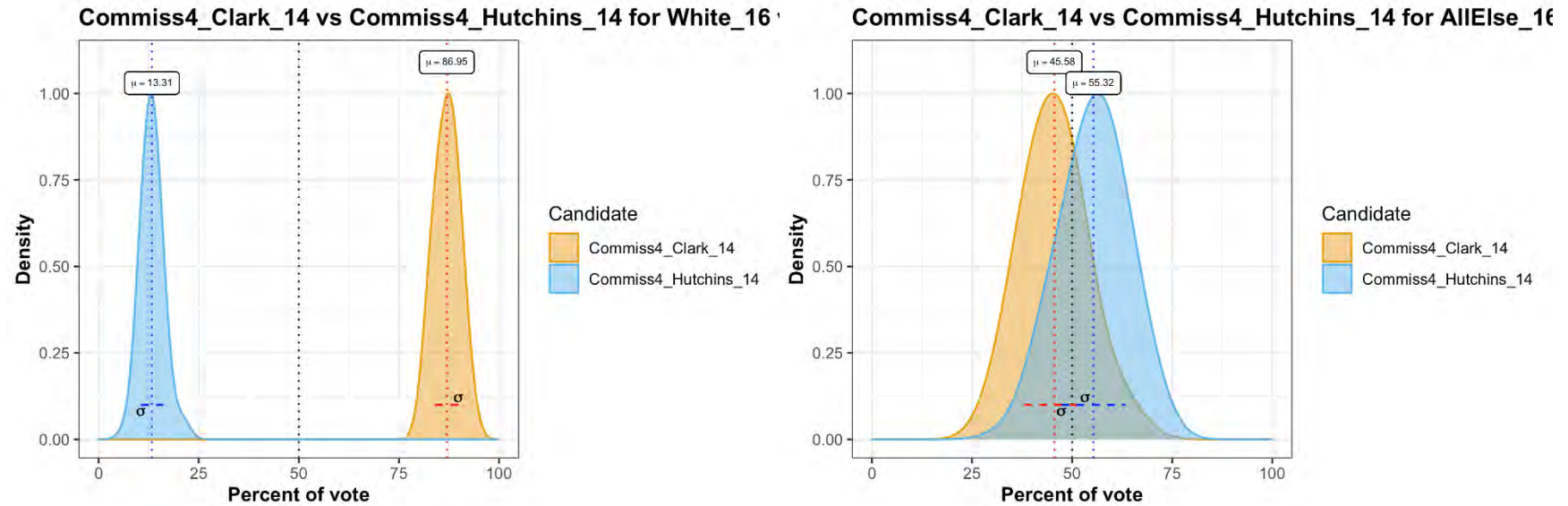
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO

Commiss4_Clark_14 vs Commiss4_Hutchins_14 for SSTO_14

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)

Commiss4_Clark_14 vs Commiss4_Hutchins_14 for Wht_Vote
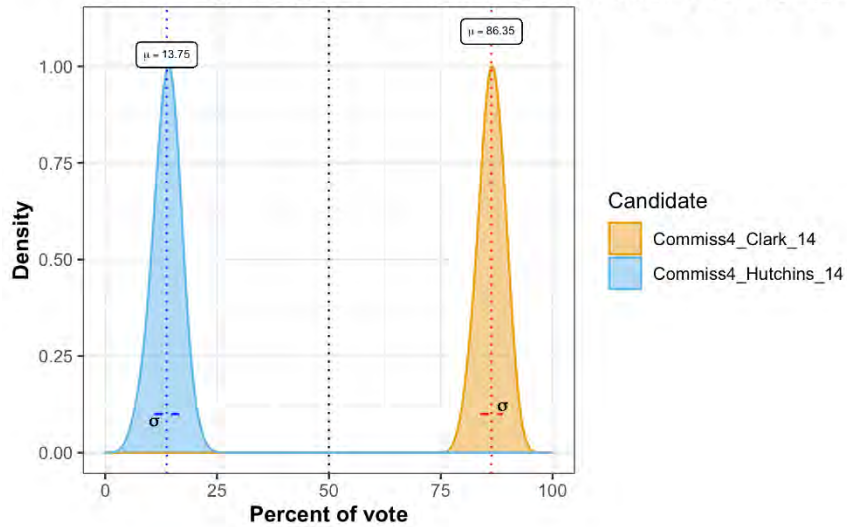
Commiss4_Clark_14 vs Commiss4_Hutchins_14 for Hsp_Vote
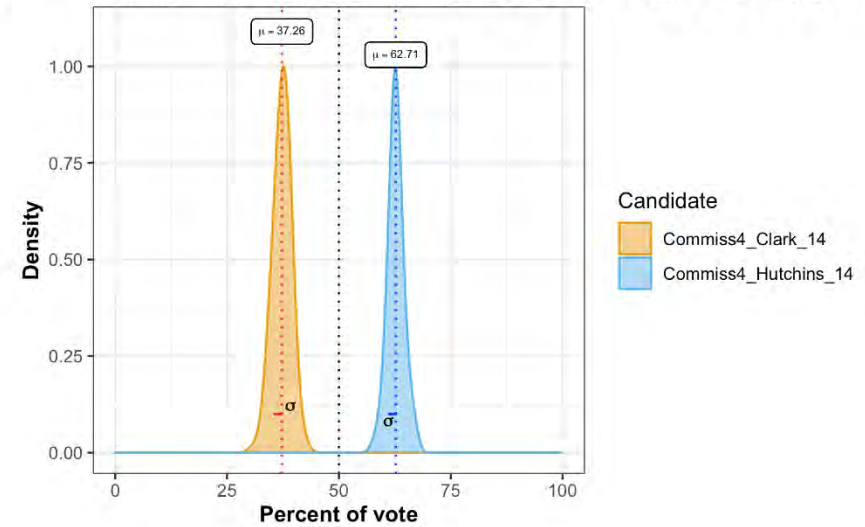
Commiss4_Clark_14 vs Commiss4_Hutchins_14 for Blk_Vote1

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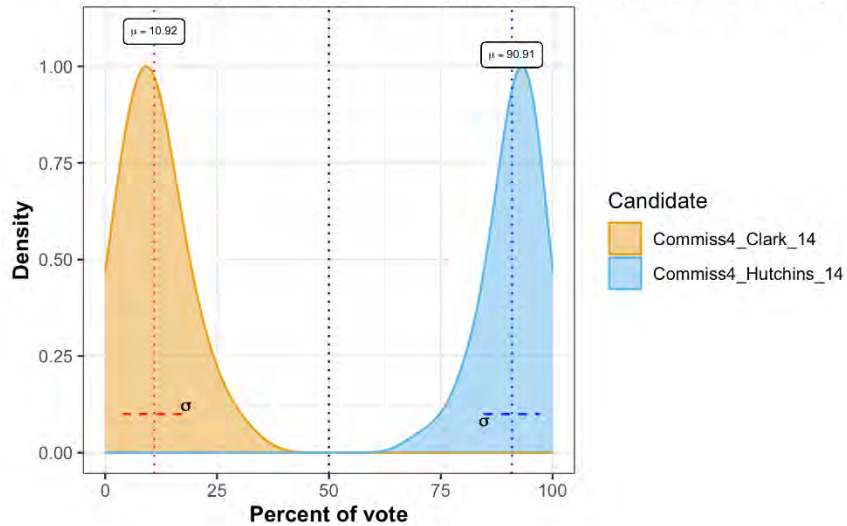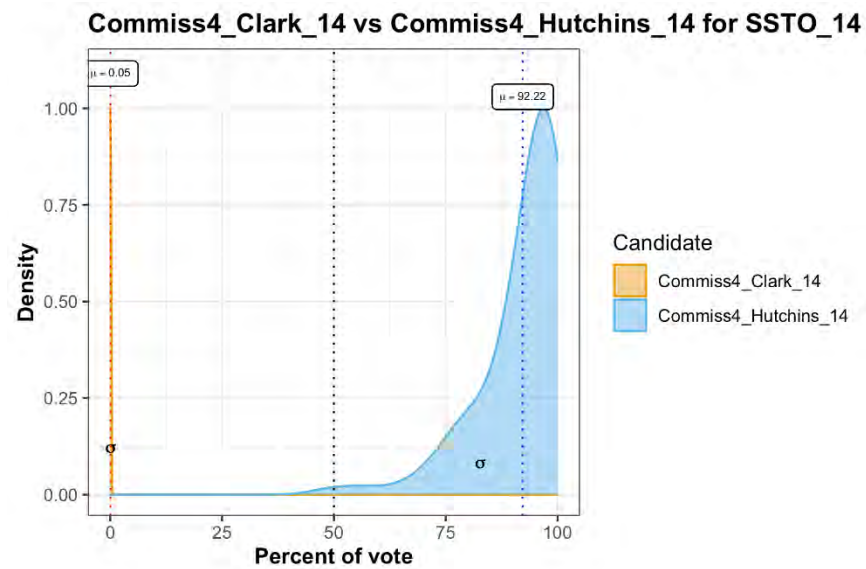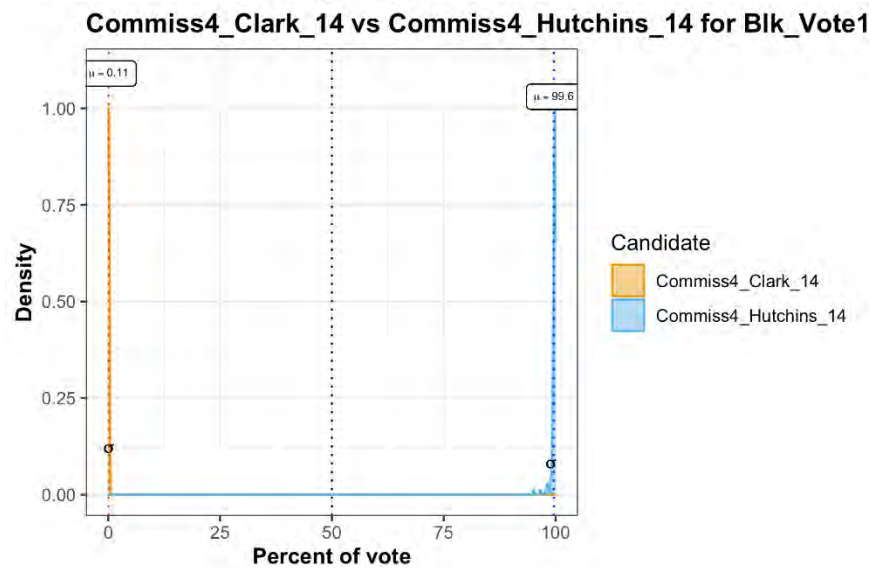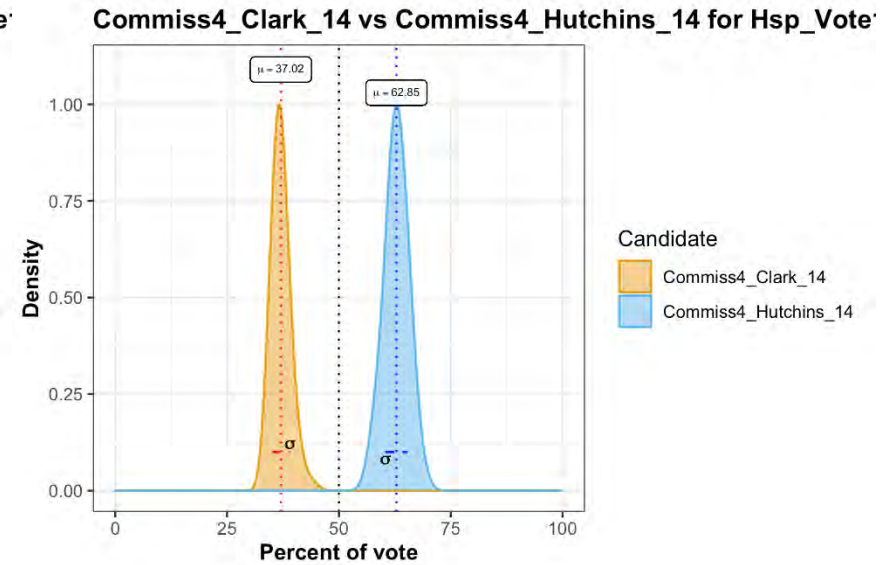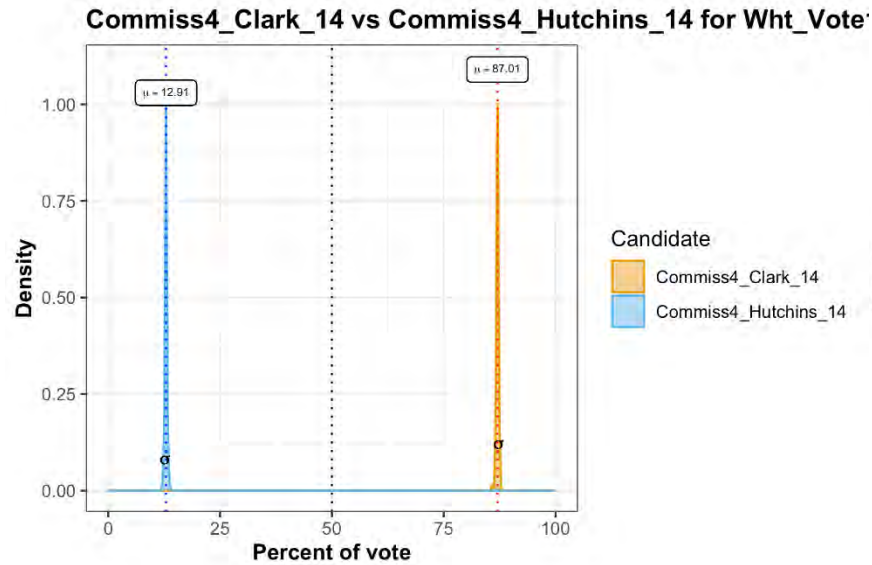
XXV. 2014 Governor

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
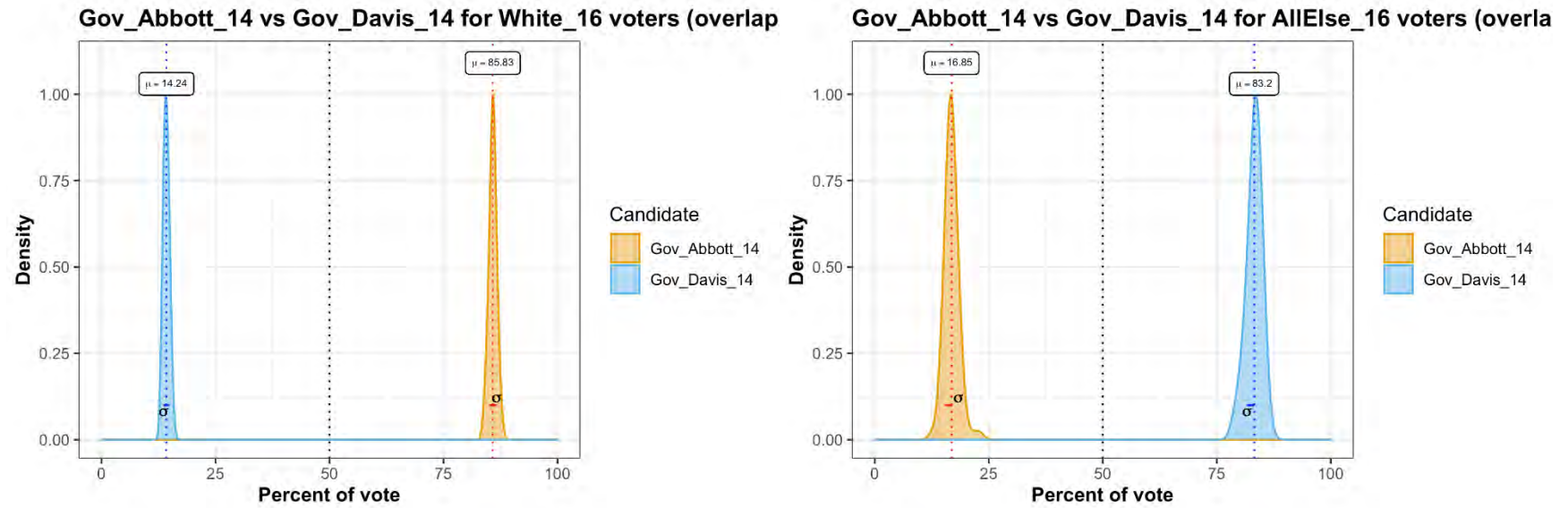
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

Gov_Abbott_14 vs Gov_Davis_14 for Anglo_16 voters (overlap
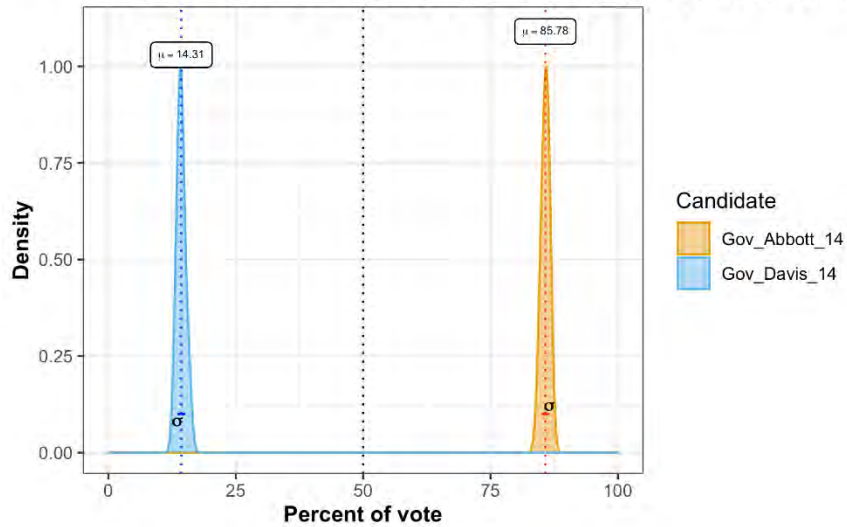
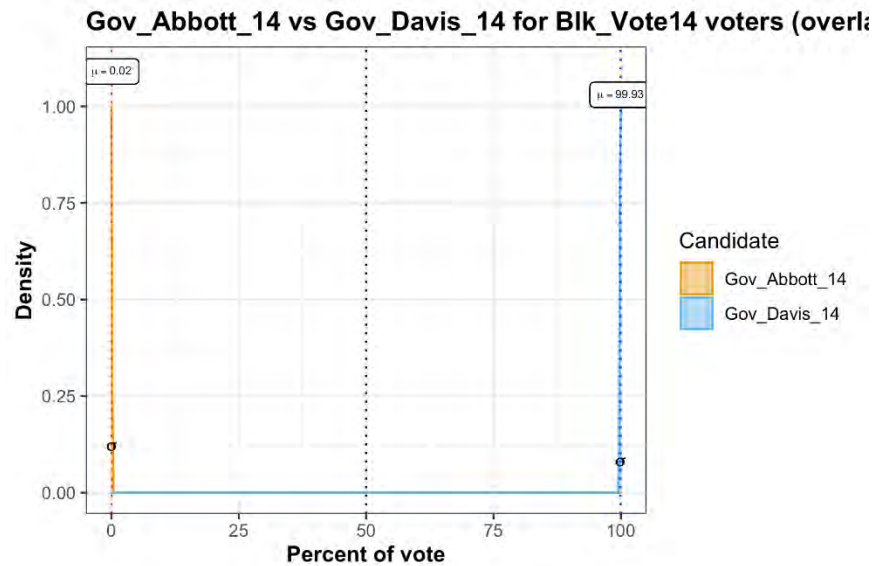Gov_Abbott_14 vs Gov_Davis_14 for Hisp_16 voters (overlap:
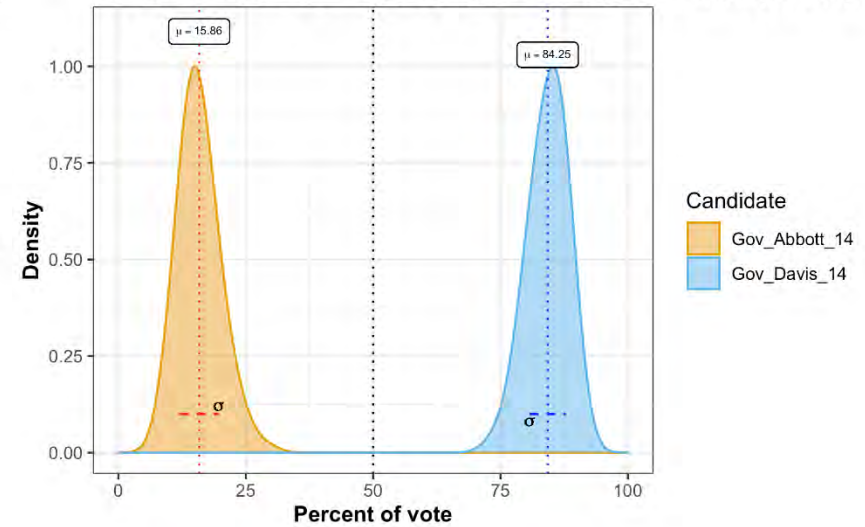
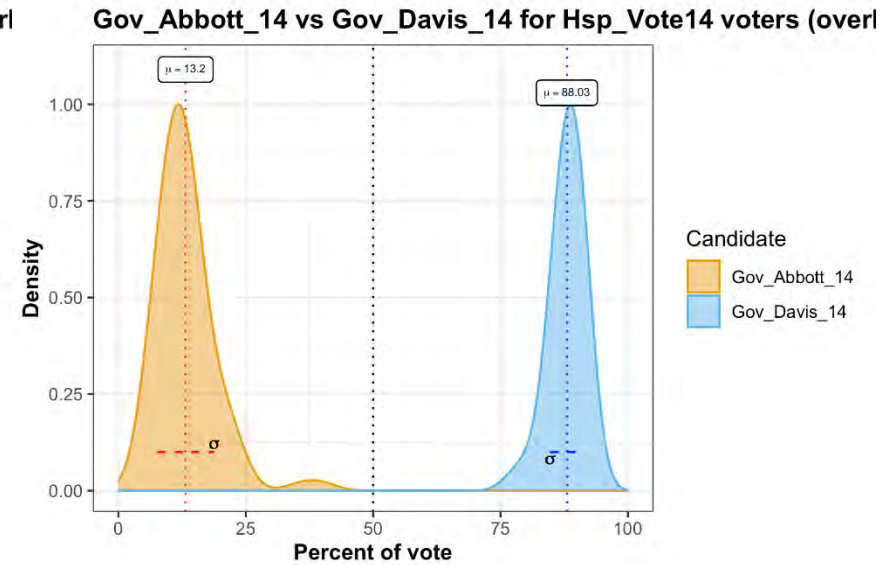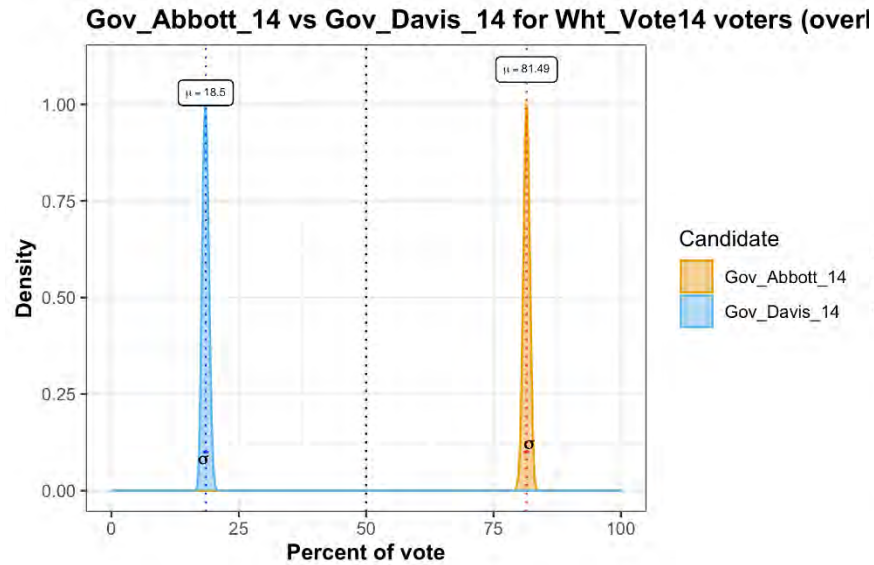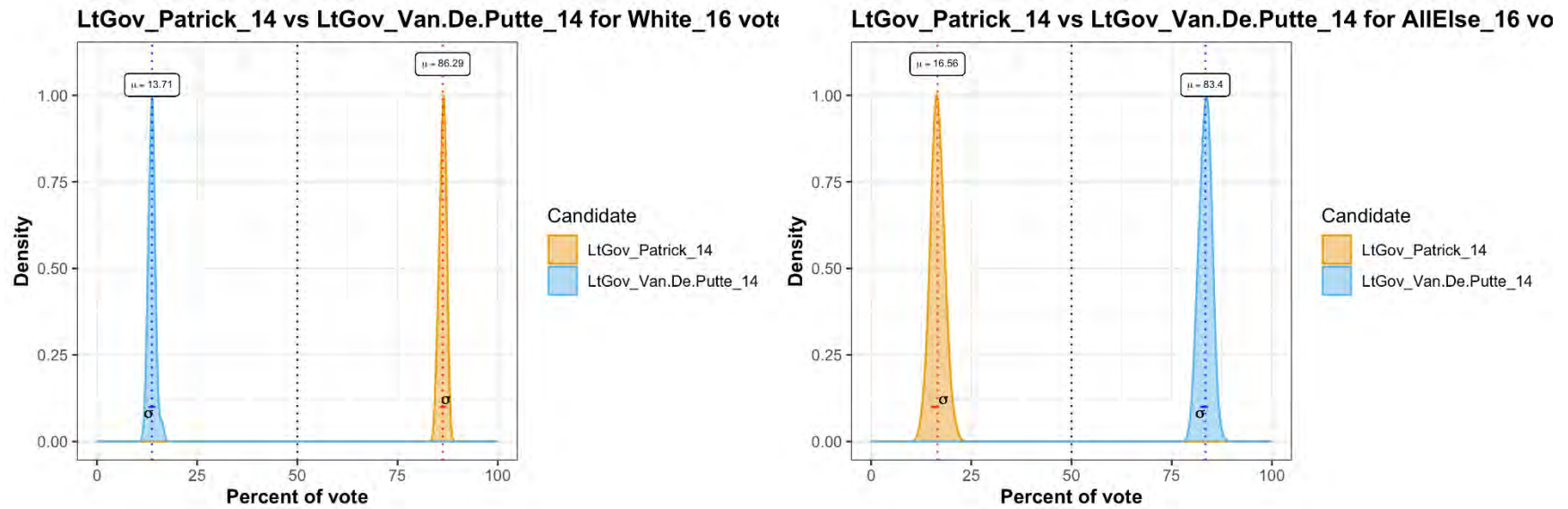Gov_Abbott_14 vs Gov_Davis_14 for Black_16 voters (overlap

SSTO

Gov_Abbott_14 vs Gov_Davis_14 for SSTO_14 voters (overlap
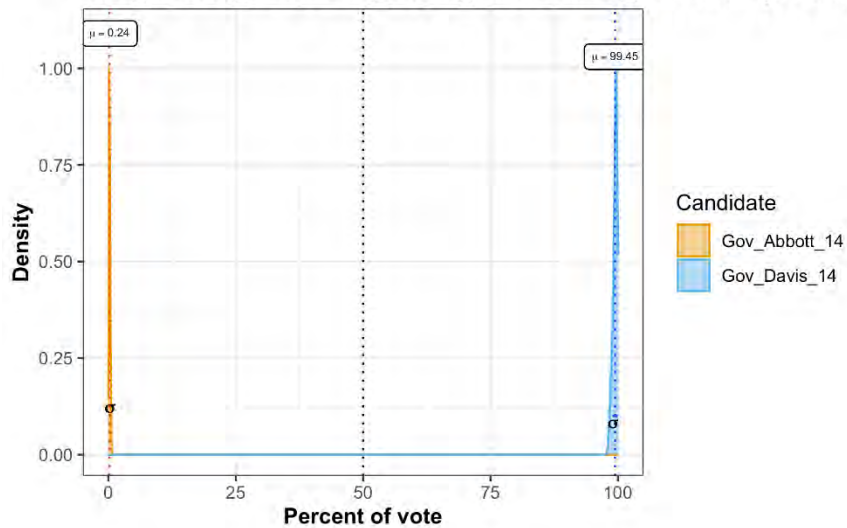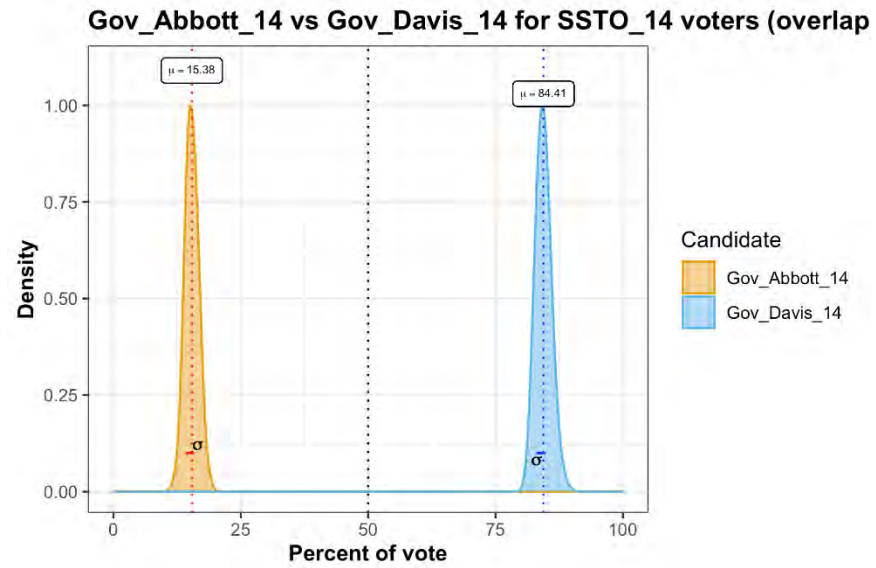
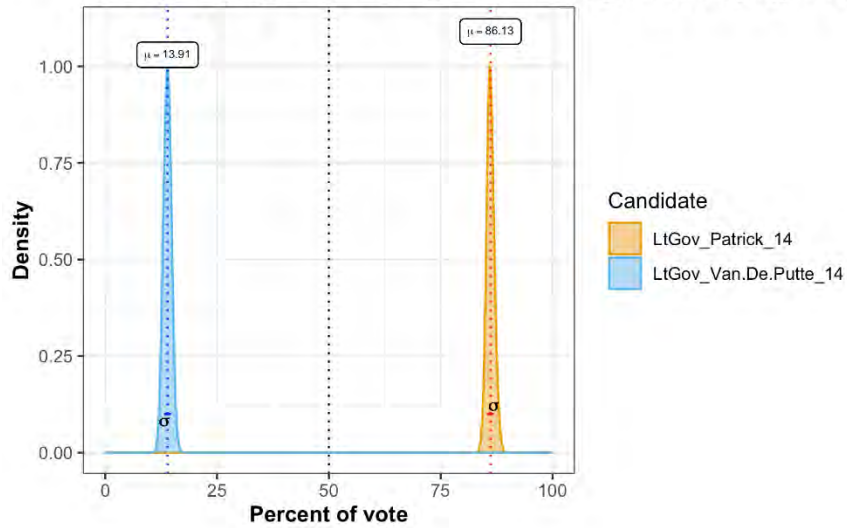**Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)**

XXVI. 2014 Lt. Governor
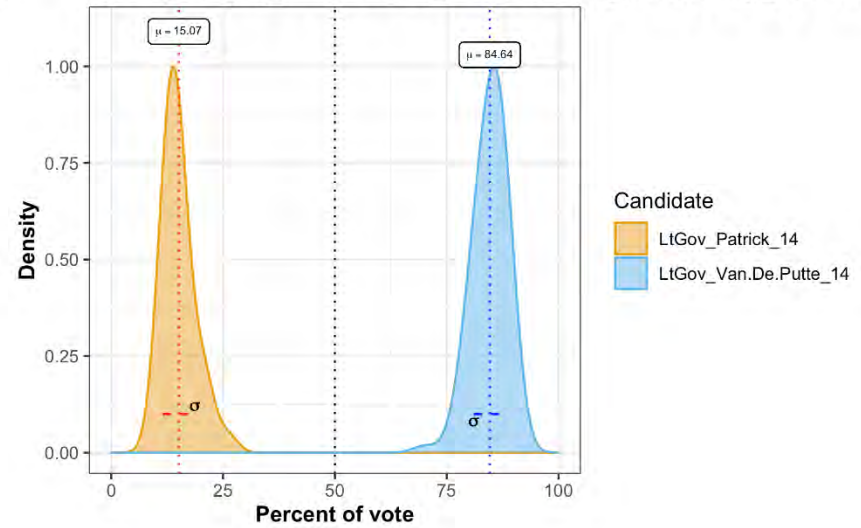
<u>**Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)**</u>

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

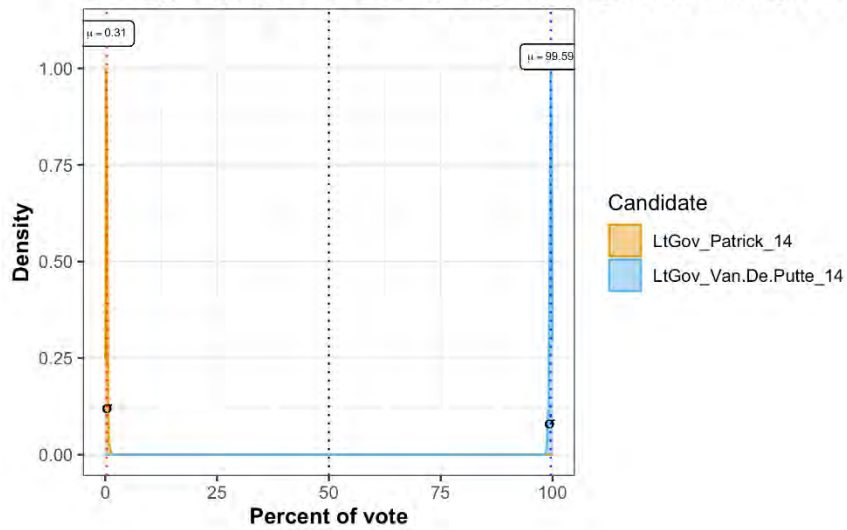LtGov_Patrick_14 vs LtGov_Van.De.Putte_14 for Anglo_16 vote

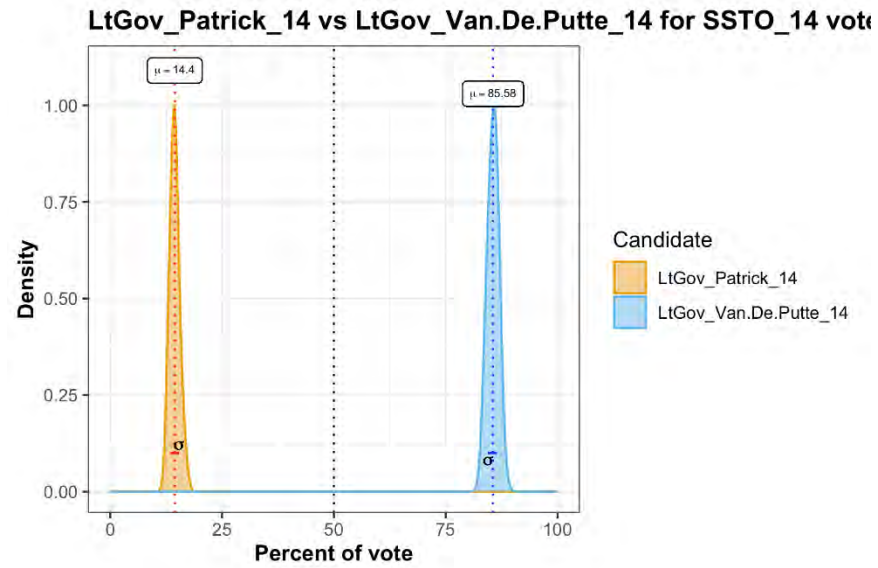LtGov_Patrick_14 vs LtGov_Van.De.Putte_14 for Hisp_16 voter

LtGov_Patrick_14 vs LtGov_Van.De.Putte_14 for Black_16 vote

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LtGov_Patrick_14 vs LtGov_Van.De.Putte_14 for SSTO_14 vote

μ = 14.4

μ = 85.58

Candidate

LtGov_Patrick_14

LtGov_Van.De.Putte_14

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Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
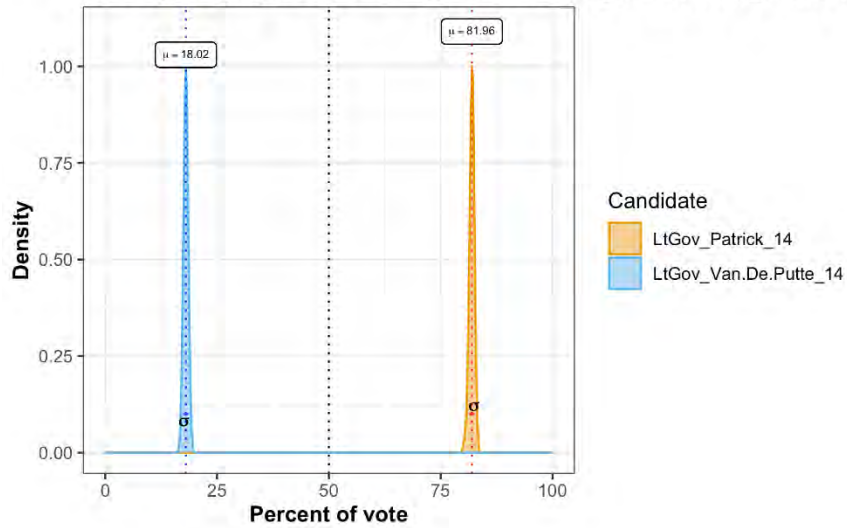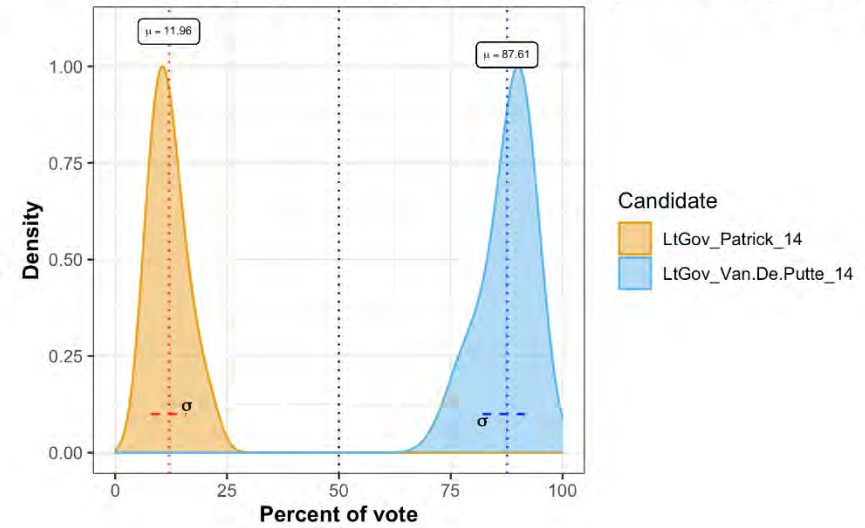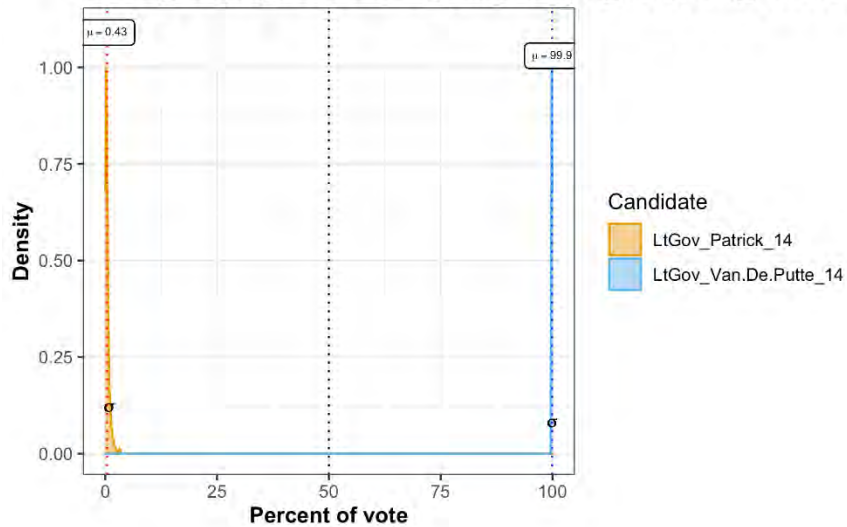
XXVII.   2014 U.S. Senate

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
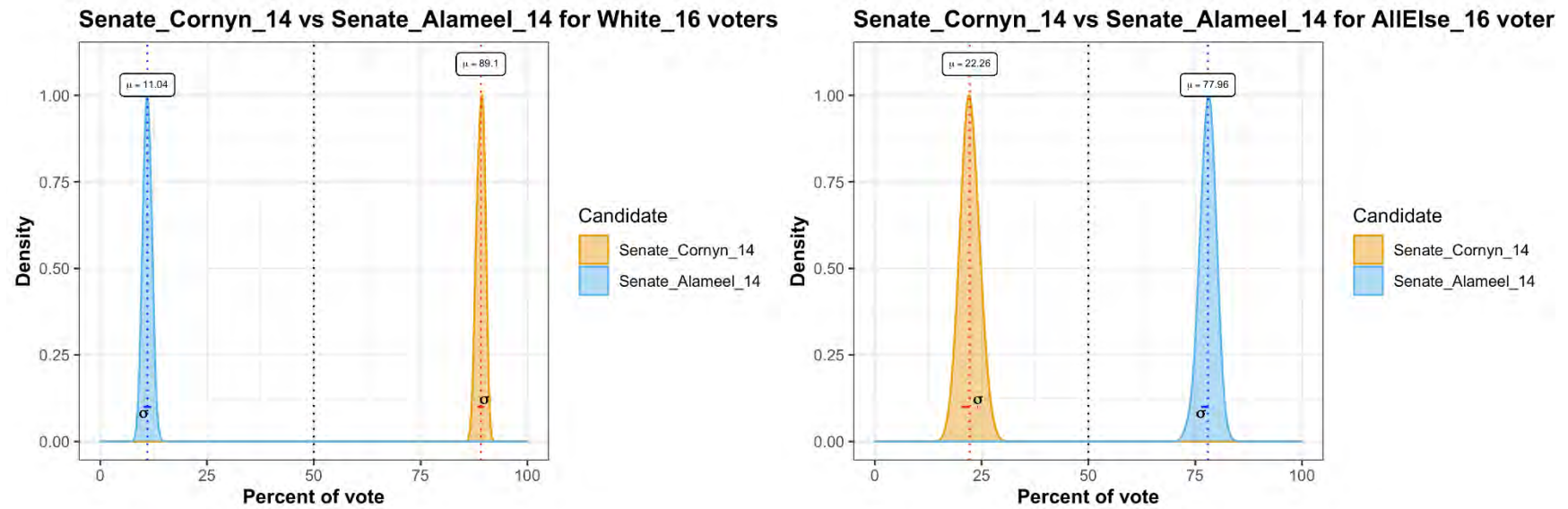
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

Senate_Cornyn_14 vs Senate_Alameel_14 for Anglo_16 voters
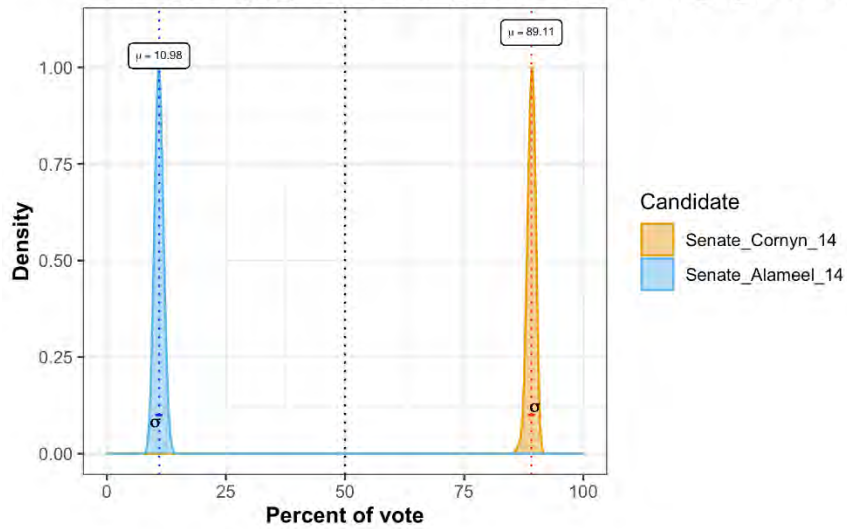
Senate_Cornyn_14 vs Senate_Alameel_14 for Hisp_16 voters (
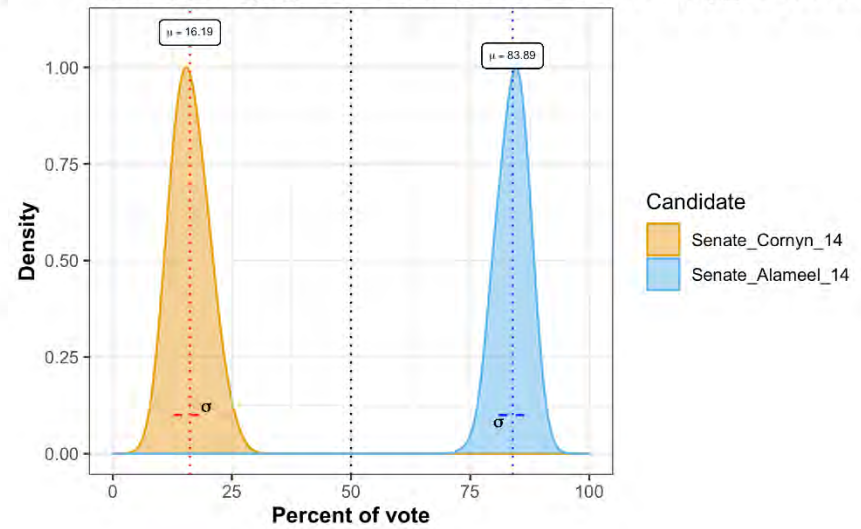
Senate_Cornyn_14 vs Senate_Alameel_14 for Black_16 voters

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Senate_Cornyn_14 vs Senate_Alameel_14 for SSTO_14 voters
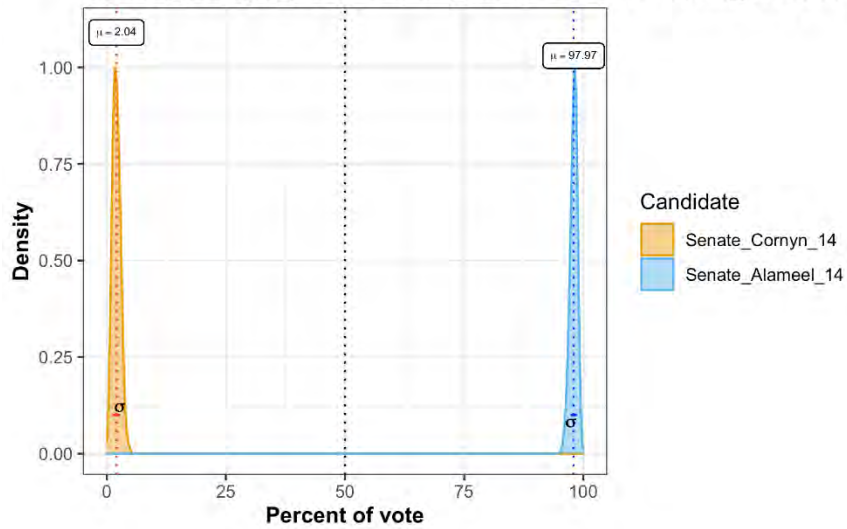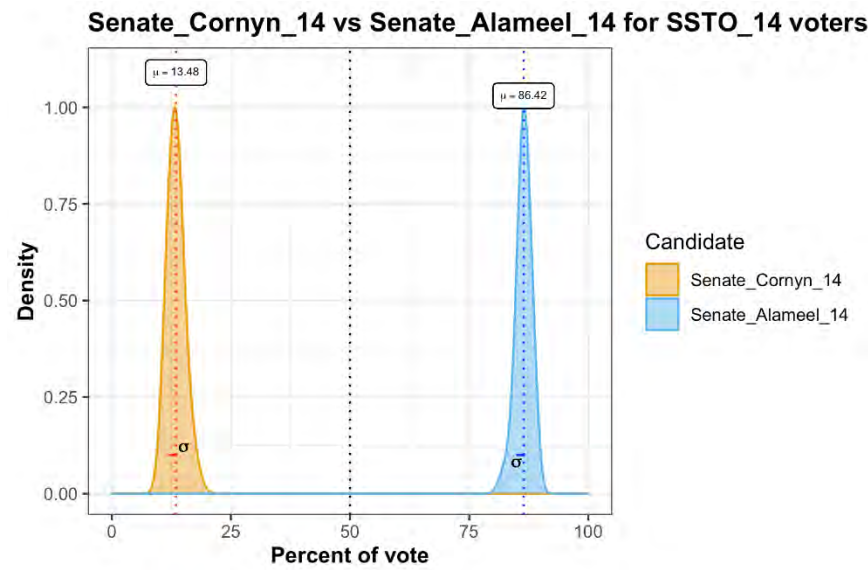
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
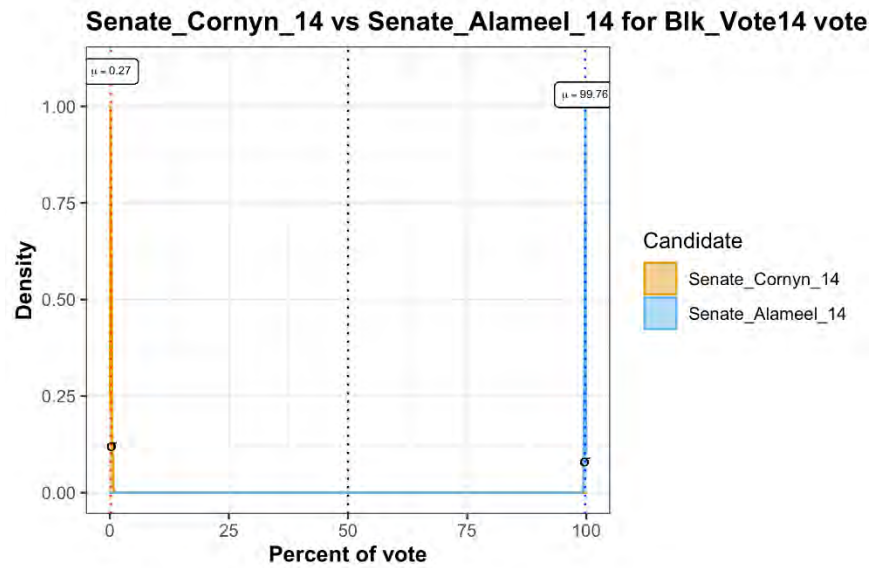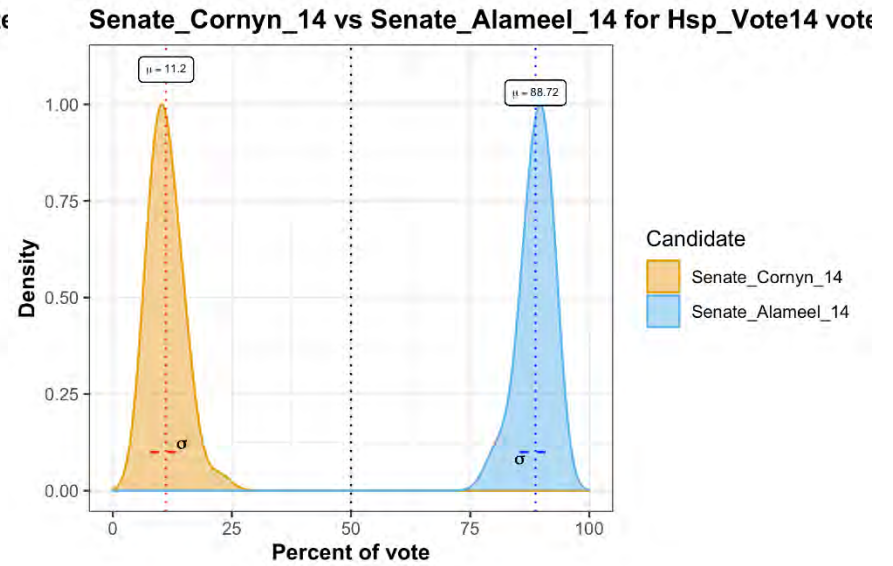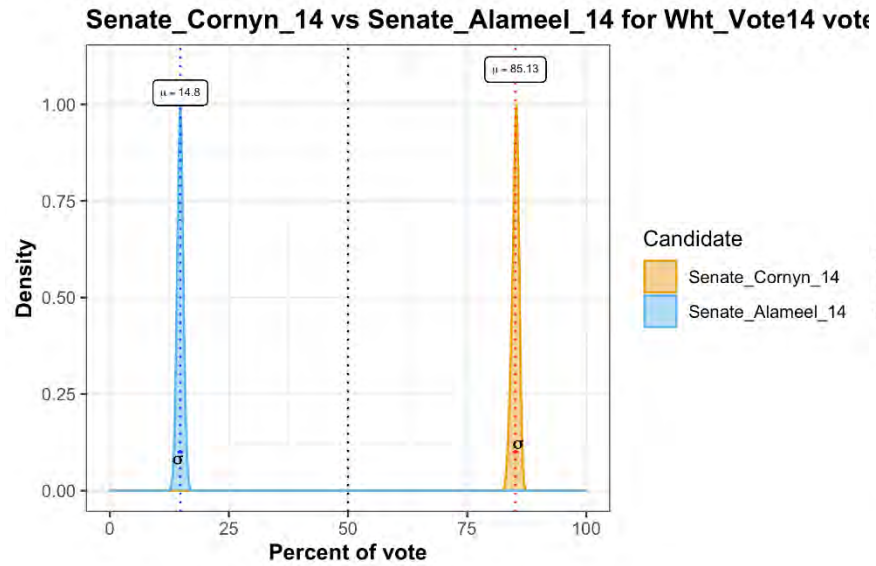
XXVIII.   **2014 Supreme Court Justice, Position #7**

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
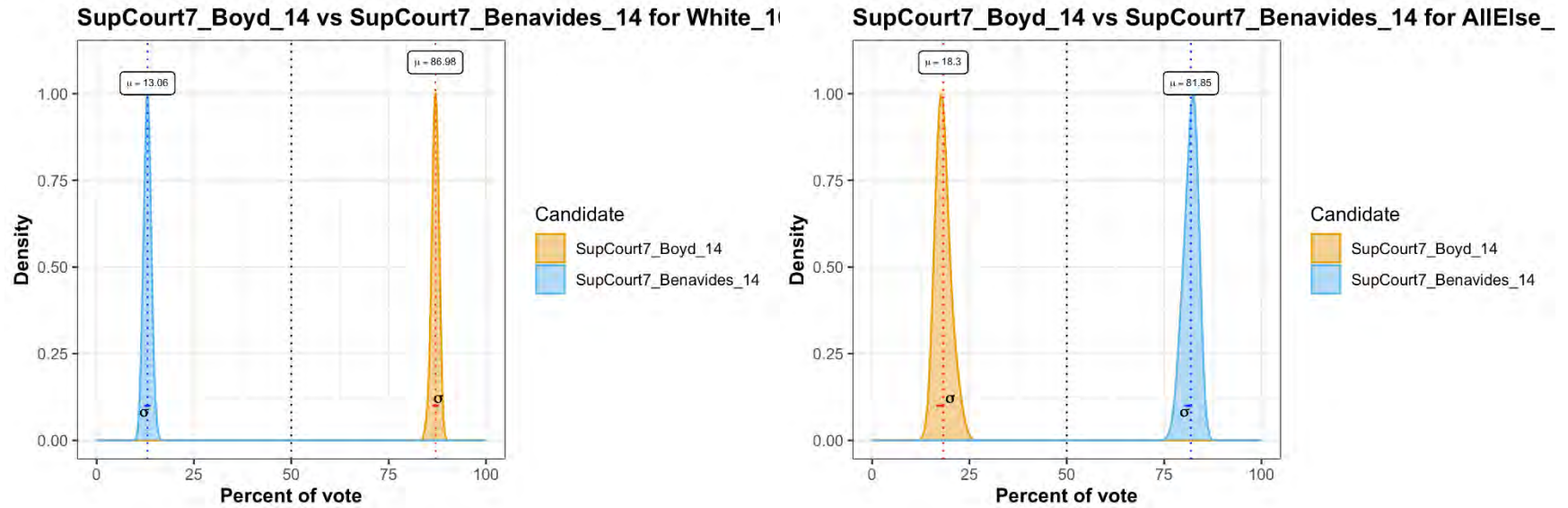
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

SSTO

SupCourt7_Boyd_14 vs SupCourt7_Benavides_14 for SSTO_14
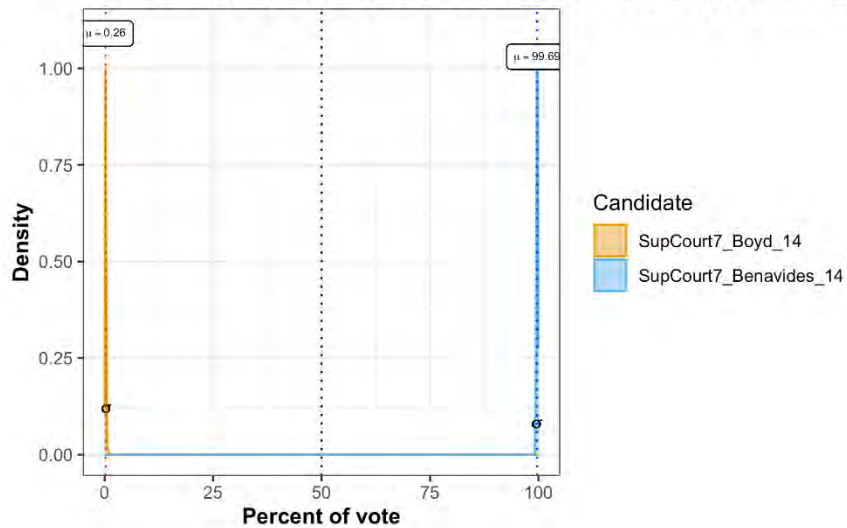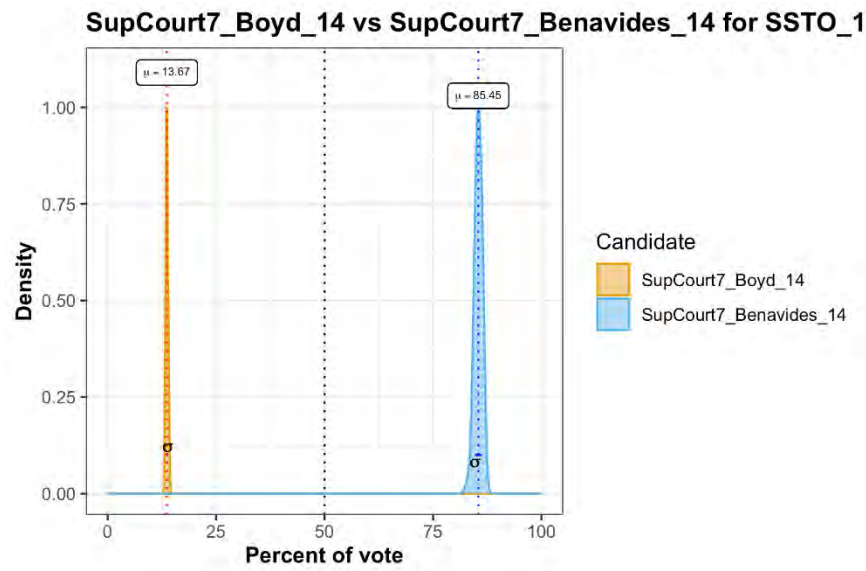
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
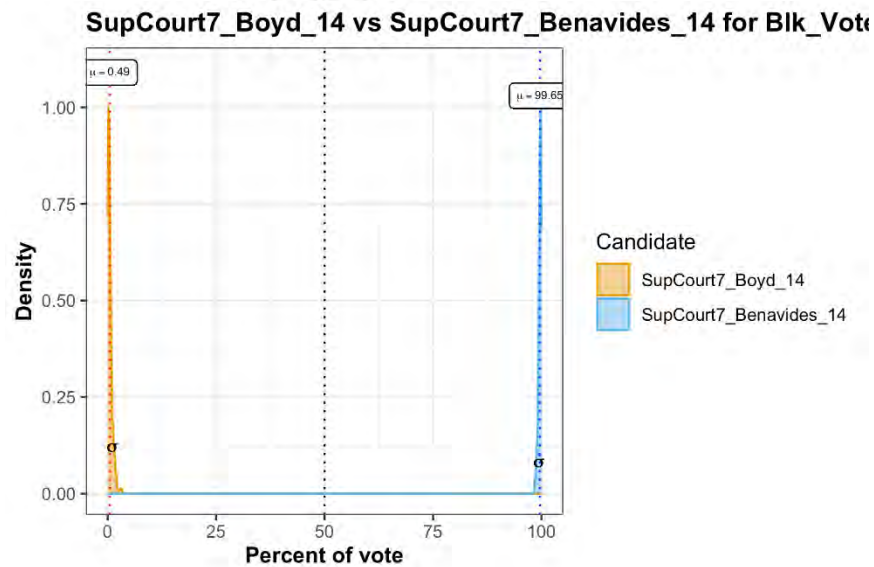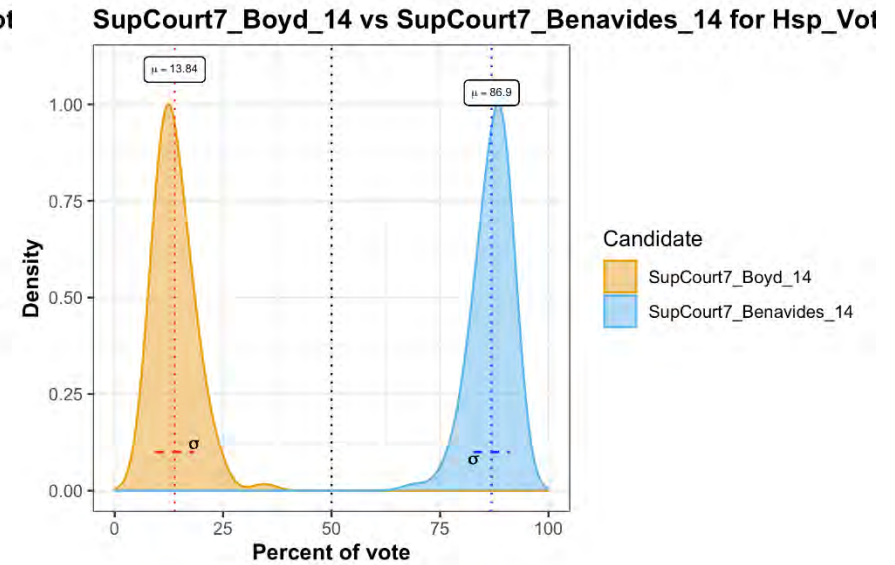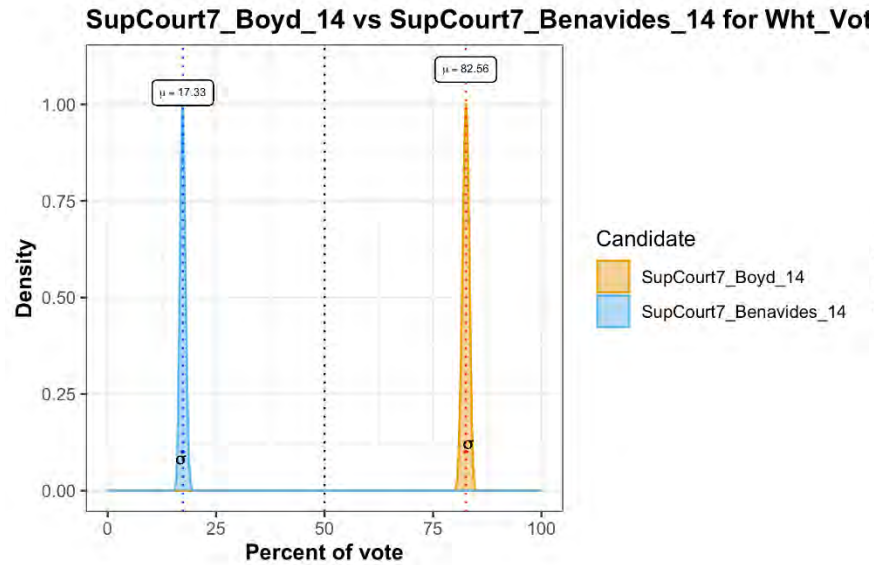
XXIX. 2014 U.S. House of Reps, District #14

Anglo and Non-Anglo (CVAP)
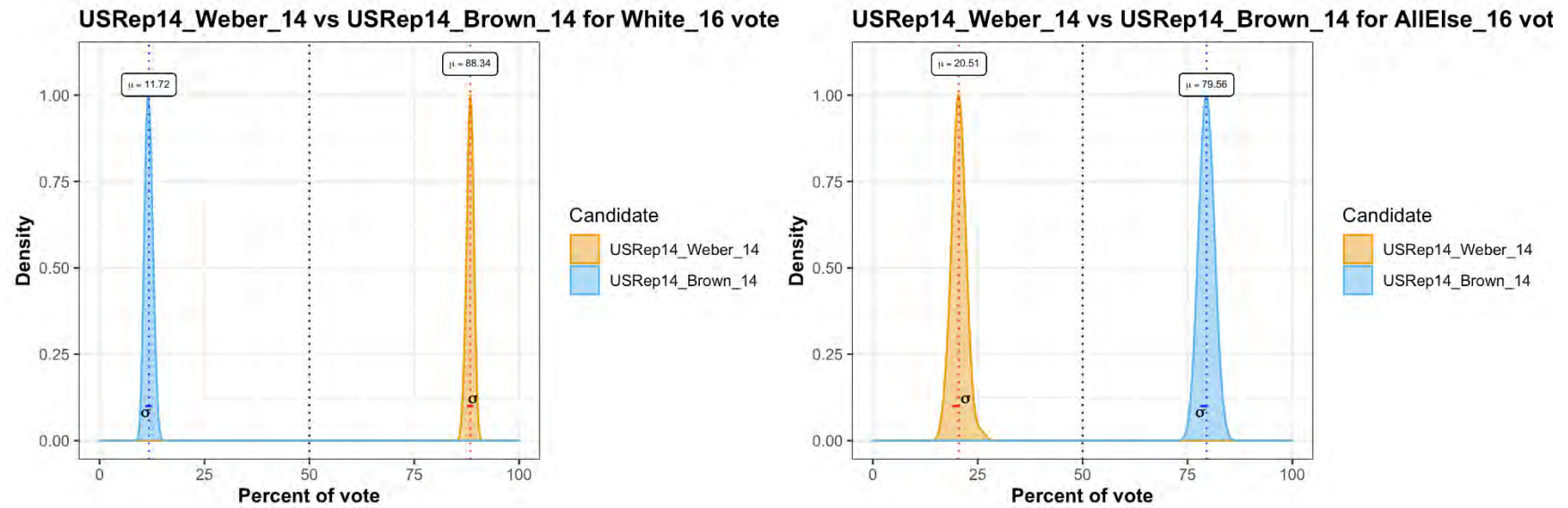
Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (CVAP)

USRep14_Weber_14 vs USRep14_Brown_14 for Anglo_16 vote

μ = 11.76

μ = 88.22

Candidate
- USRep14_Weber_14
- USRep14_Brown_14

σ
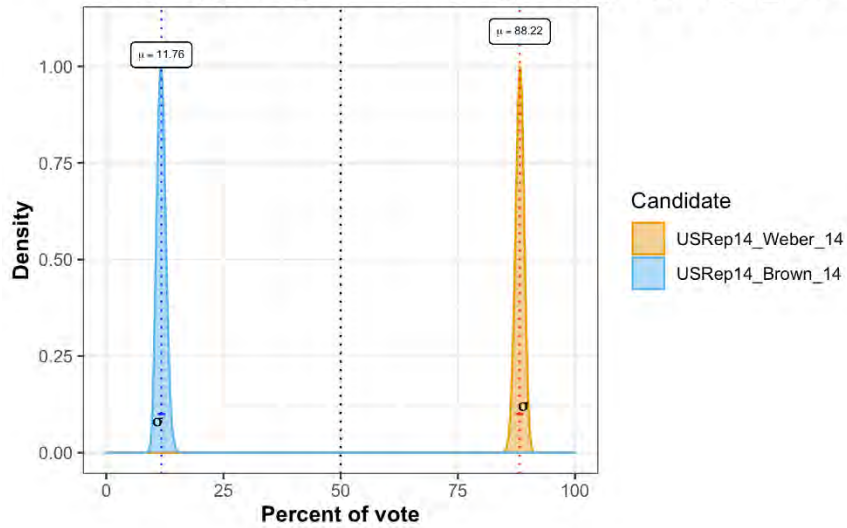
USRep14_Weber_14 vs USRep14_Brown_14 for Hisp_16 voters

μ = 15.56

μ = 84.32

Candidate
- USRep14_Weber_14
- USRep14_Brown_14

σ
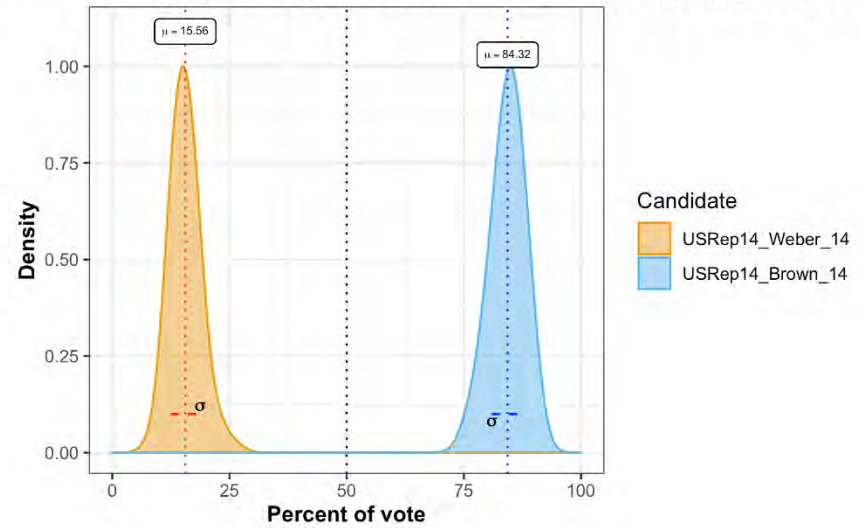
USRep14_Weber_14 vs USRep14_Brown_14 for Black_16 vote
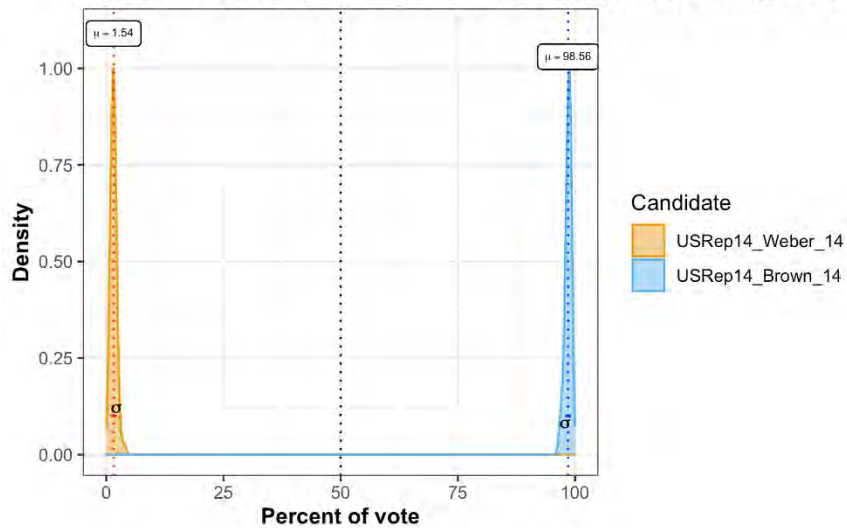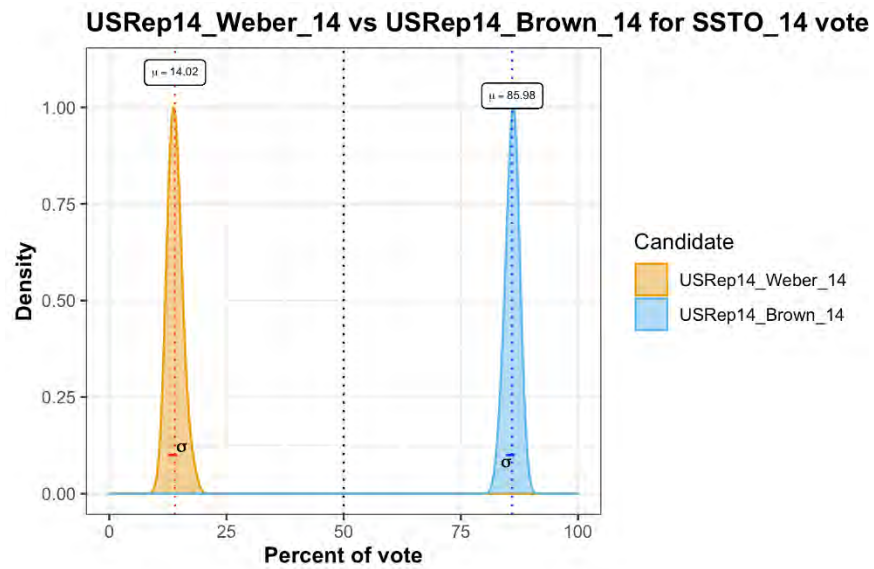
μ = 1.54

μ = 98.56

Candidate
- USRep14_Weber_14
- USRep14_Brown_14

σ

SSTO

USRep14_Weber_14 vs USRep14_Brown_14 for SSTO_14 vote

Anglo, Hispanic, and Black (Estimated Actual Vote)
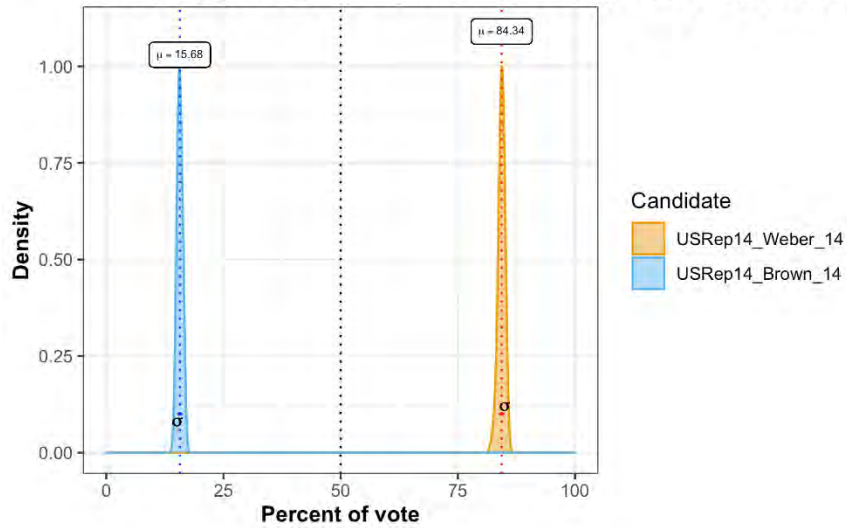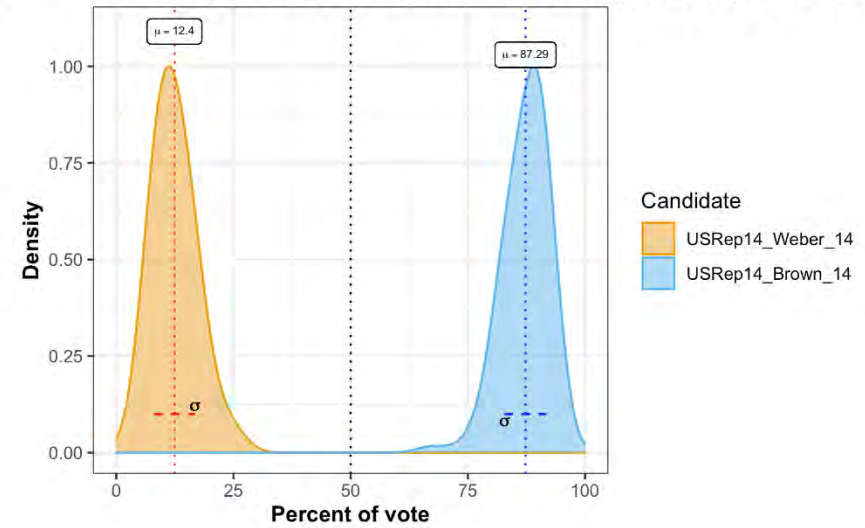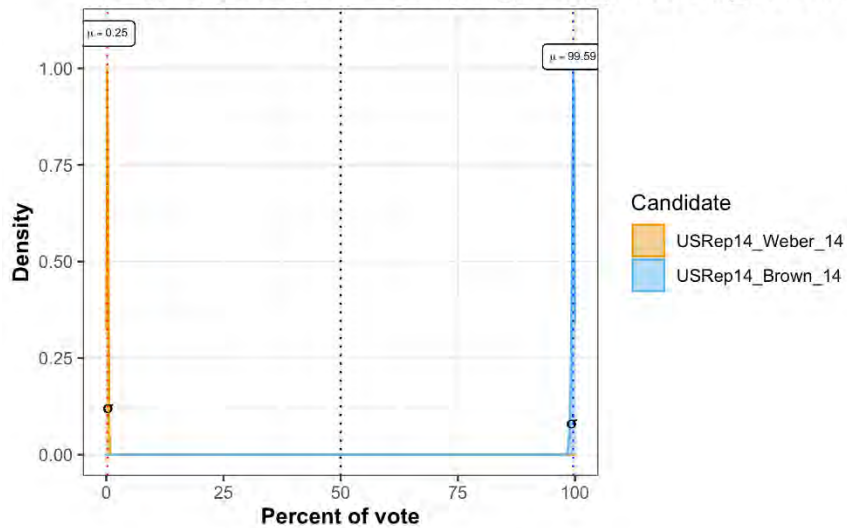
Appendix D: Galveston County Adopted Map Racial Heatmap (2020 CVAP)
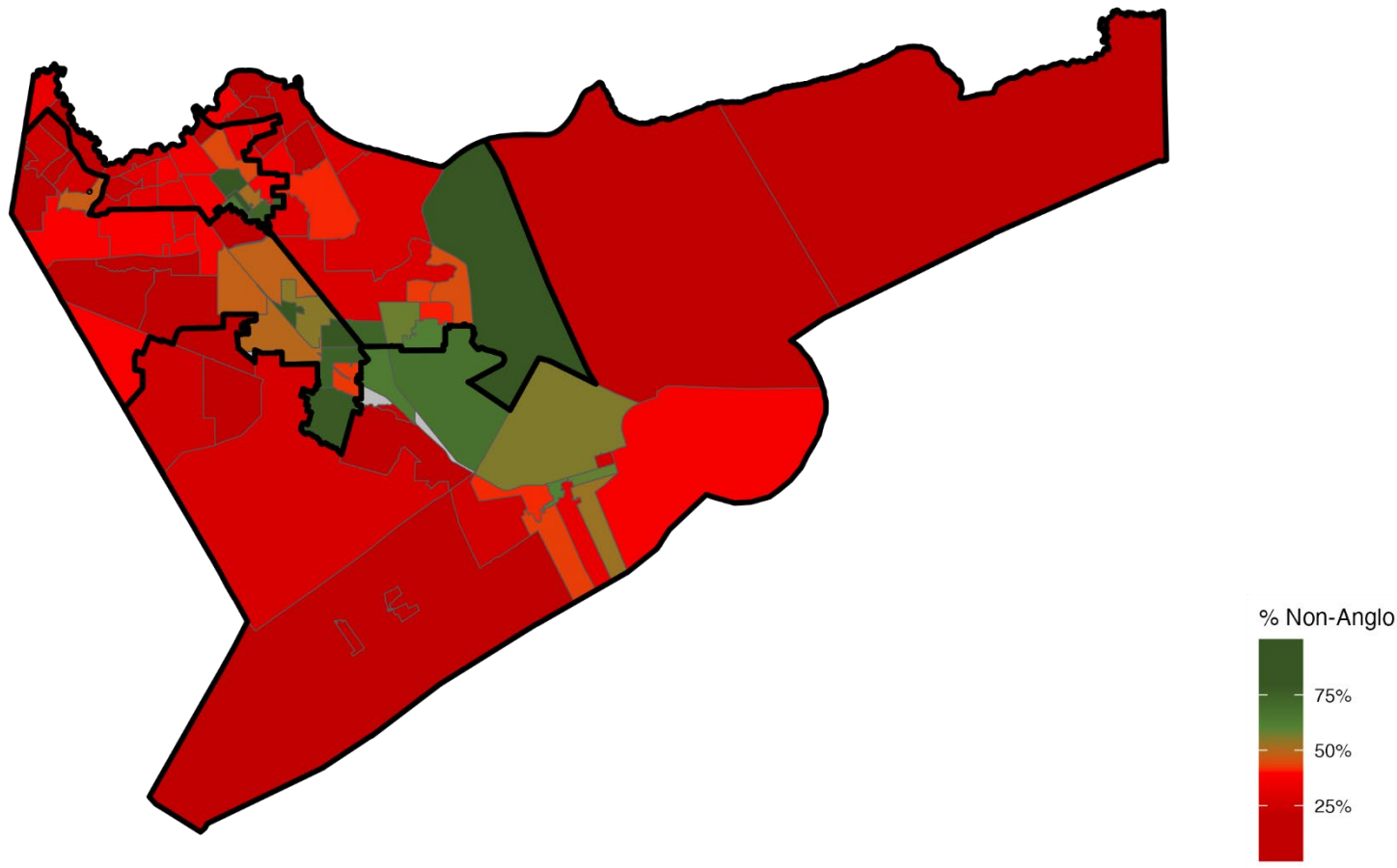
Appendix E1: Resume of Matt Barreto, PhD

MATT A. BARRETO – BARRETOM@UCLA.EDU
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, 3345 BUNCHE HALL, LOS ANGELES CA 90095 / 909.489.2955

EMPLOYMENT: **Professor**, Political Science, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Professor, Chicana/o Studies, University of California Los Angeles (2015 – present)
Co-Founder & Faculty Director, Latino Policy & Politics Initiative (LPPI)
Co-Founder & Faculty Director, UCLA Voting Rights Project (VRP)

Dept. Political Science, University of Washington
Professor (2014 – 2015)
Associate Professor (2009 – 2014)
Assistant Professor (2005 – 2009)
Co-Founder & Director, Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race
Founding Director, Center for Democracy and Voting Rights, UW School of Law

Affiliated Research Centers

Latino Policy & Politics Initiative (LPPI), University of California, Los Angeles

Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC), University of California, Los Angeles

Center for the Study of Los Angeles (CSLA), Loyola Marymount University

PERSONAL: Born: June 6, 1976
San Juan, Puerto Rico

High School: 1994, Washburn Rural HS, Topeka, KS

EDUCATION: **Ph.D., Political Science, June 2005**
University of California – Irvine
Sub Fields: American Politics / Race, Ethnicity and Politics / Methodology
Thesis: Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation
Thesis Committee: Bernard Grofman (chair), Louis DeSipio, Katherine Tate, Carole Uhlaner
Thesis Awards: *Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities, 04-05*
University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship, 04-05
University of California Institute for Mexico & the U.S. Dissertation Grant, 04-05

Master of Science, Social Science, March 2003
University of California – Irvine

Bachelor of Science, Political Science, May 1998
Eastern New Mexico University, Portales, NM
Minor: English. Cumulative GPA: 3.9, *Summa Cum Laude*

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PUBLICATION RECORD

Google Scholar citation indices: Cites: 5,372   h-index: 37   i10-index: 65   i100-index: 13   Cites/year: 298

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS:

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. nd. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics. Under Contract, University of Chicago Press. *expected Fall 2023*

Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2014. Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation. Public Affairs Books. (Sept)

Barreto, Matt and David Leal, editors. 2018. Race, Class, and Precinct Quality in American Cities. Springer Press.

Christopher Parker and Matt Barreto. 2013. Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America. Princeton University Press. *Winner: APSA Best Book Award for Race, Ethnicity, Politics, 2014*

Barreto, Matt. 2010. Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation. University of Michigan Press

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

79. MA Barreto, M Cohen, L Collingwood, CW Dunn, S Waknin. 2022. "A Novel Method for Showing Racially Polarized Voting: Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding" *New York University Review of Law & Social Change.*

78. MA Barreto, GR Sanchez, HL Walker. 2022. "Battling the Hydra: the disparate impact of voter ID requirements in North Dakota." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 1-22

77. M Roman, H Walker, M Barreto. 2021. "How Social Ties with Undocumented Immigrants Motivate Latinx Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly*, 10659129211019473

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75. H Walker, M Roman, MA Barreto. 2020. "The Ripple Effect: The Political Consequences of Proximal Contact with Immigration Enforcement" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 5 (3), 537-572.

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70. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Sergio Garcia-Rios and Kassra Oskooii. 2019. "Estimating Candidate Support: Comparing Iterative EI and EI-RxC Methods" *Sociological Methods and Research*. 48(4).

69. Gonzalez-OBrien, Benjamin, Matt Barreto and Gabriel Sanchez. 2019. "They're All Out to Get Me! Assessing Inter-Group Competition Among Multiple Populations." *Politics, Groups and Identities*. 7(4).

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65. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto, and Gary Segura. 2019. "Somos Más : How Racial Threat and Anger Mobilized Latino Voters in the Trump Era" *Political Research Quarterly.* 72(4)

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62. Barreto, Matt. 2018. "The cycle of under-mobilization of minority voters: A comment on 'Selective recruitment of voter neglect?'" *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics.* 3(1).

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56. Collingwood, Loren, Kassra Oskooii, Sergio Garcia-Rios, and Matt Barreto. 2016. "eiCompare: Comparing Ecological Inference Estimates across EI and EI: RxC." *The R Journal*. 8:2 (Dec).

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54. Barreto, Matt, Collingwood, Loren, Christopher Parker, and Francisco Pedraza. 2015. "Racial Attitudes and Race of Interviewer Item Non-Response." *Survey Practice*. 8:3.

53. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura 2015. "Obama y la seducción del voto Latino." *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 15:2 (Jul).

52. Barreto, Matt and Loren Collingwood 2015. "Group-based appeals and the Latino vote in 2012: How immigration became a mobilizing issue." *Electoral Studies*. 37 (Mar).

51. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Sergio García-Rios. 2014. "Revisiting Latino Voting: Cross-Racial Mobilization in the 2012 Election" *Political Research Quarterly*. 67:4 (Sep).

50. Bergman, Elizabeth, Gary Segura and Matt Barreto. 2014. "Immigration Politics and Electoral Consequences: Anticipating the Dynamics of Latino Vote in the 2014 Election" *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. (Feb)

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49. Barreto, Matt and Sergio García-Rios. 2012. "El poder del voto latino en Estados Unidos en 2012" *Foreign Affairs Latinoamérica*. 12:4 (Nov).

48. Collingwood, Loren, Matt Barreto and Todd Donovan. 2012. "Early Primaries, Viability and Changing Preferences for Presidential Candidates." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 42:1(Mar).

47. Barreto, Matt, Betsy Cooper, Ben Gonzalez, Chris Towler, and Christopher Parker. 2012. "The Tea Party in the Age of Obama: Mainstream Conservatism or Out-Group Anxiety?." *Political Power and Social Theory*. 22:1(Jan).

46. Dana, Karam, Matt Barreto and Kassra Oskooii. 2011. "Mosques as American Institutions: Mosque Attendance, Religiosity and Integration into the American Political System." *Religions*. 2:2 (Sept).

45. Barreto, Matt, Christian Grose and Ana Henderson. 2011. "Redistricting: Coalition Districts and the Voting Rights Act." *Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy*. (May)

44. Barreto, Matt and Stephen Nuño. 2011. "The Effectiveness of Co-Ethnic Contact on Latino Political Recruitment." *Political Research Quarterly*. 64 (June). 448-459.

43. Garcia-Castañon, Marcela, Allison Rank and Matt Barreto. 2011 "Plugged in or tuned out? Youth, Race, and Internet Usage in the 2008 Election." *Journal of Political Marketing.* 10:2 115-138.

42. Barreto, Matt, Victoria DeFrancesco, and Jennifer Merolla. 2011 "Multiple Dimensions of Mobilization: The Impact of Direct Contact and Political Ads on Latino Turnout in the 2000 Presidential Election." *Journal of Political Marketing.* 10:1

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39. Barreto, Matt and Dino Bozonelos. 2009. "Democrat, Republican, or None of the Above? Religiosity and the Partisan Identification of Muslim Americans" *Politics & Religion* 2 (Aug). 1-31

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37. Grofman, Bernard and Matt Barreto. 2009. "A Reply to Zax's (2002) Critique of Grofman and Migalski (1988): Double Equation Approaches to Ecological Inferences." *Sociological Methods and Research.* 37 (May)

36. Barreto, Matt, Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez. 2009. "The Disproportionate Impact of Voter-ID Requirements on the Electorate – New Evidence from Indiana." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 42 (Jan)

35. Barreto, Matt, Luis Fraga, Sylvia Manzano, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary Segura. 2008. "Should they dance with the one who brung 'em? Latinos and the 2008 Presidential election" *PS: Political Science & Politics.* 41 (Oct).

34. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2008. "Are All Precincts Created Equal? The Prevalence of Low- Quality Precincts in Low-Income and Minority Communities." *Political Research Quarterly.* 62

33. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "*Sí Se Puede!* Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." *American Political Science Review*. 101 (August): 425-441.

32. Barreto, Matt and David Leal. 2007. "Latinos, Military Service, and Support for Bush and Kerry in 2004." *American Politics Research.* 35 (March): 224-251.

31. Barreto, Matt, Mara Marks and Nathan Woods. 2007. "Homeownership: Southern California's New Political Fault Line?" *Urban Affairs Review.* 42 (January). 315-341.

30. Barreto, Matt, Matt Streb, Fernando Guerra, and Mara Marks. 2006. "Do Absentee Voters Differ From Polling Place Voters? New Evidence From California." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 70 (Summer): 224-34.

29. Barreto, Matt, Fernando Guerra, Mara Marks, Stephen Nuño, and Nathan Woods. 2006. "Controversies in Exit Polling: Implementing a racially stratified homogenous precinct approach." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 39 (July) 477-83.

28. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Are Naturalized Voters Driving the California Latino Electorate? Measuring the Impact of IRCA Citizens on Latino Voting." *Social Science Quarterly*. 86 (December): 792-811.

27. Barreto, Matt. 2005. "Latino Immigrants at the Polls: Foreign-born Voter Turnout in the 2002 Election." *Political Research Quarterly*. 58 (March): 79-86.

26. Barreto, Matt, Mario Villarreal and Nathan Woods. 2005. "Metropolitan Latino Political Behavior: Turnout and Candidate Preference in Los Angeles." *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 27(February): 71-91.

25. Leal, David, Matt Barreto, Jongho Lee and Rodolfo de la Garza. 2005. "The Latino Vote in the 2004 Election." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 38 (January): 41-49.

24. Marks, Mara, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2004. "Harmony and Bliss in LA? Race and Racial Attitudes a Decade After the 1992 Riots." *Urban Affairs Review*. 40 (September): 3-18.

23. Barreto, Matt, Gary Segura and Nathan Woods. 2004. "The Effects of Overlapping Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review*. 98 (February): 65-75.

22. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2004. "Minority Participation and the California Recall: Latino, Black, and Asian Voting Trends 1990 – 2003." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 37 (January): 11-14.

21. Barreto, Matt and José Muñoz. 2003. "Reexamining the 'politics of in-between': political participation among Mexican immigrants in the United States." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*. 25 (November): 427-447.

20. Barreto, Matt. 2003. "National Origin (Mis)Identification Among Latinos in the 2000 Census: The Growth of the "Other Hispanic or Latino" Category." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy*. 15 (June): 39-63.

Edited Volume Book Chapters

19. Barreto, Matt and Gary Segura. 2020. "Latino Reaction and Resistance to Trump: Lessons learned from Pete Wilson and 1994." In Raul Hinojosa and Edward Telles (eds.) Equitable Globalization: Expanding Bridges, Overcoming Walls. Oakland: University of California Press.

18. Barreto, Matt, Albert Morales and Gary Segura. 2019. "The Brown Tide and the Blue Wave in 2018" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) The Blue Wave. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

17. Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo and Matt Barreto. 2018. "Obama's Latino Legacy: From Unknown to Never Forgotten" In Andrew Rudalevige and Bert Rockman (eds.) The Obama Legacy. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.

16. Barreto, Matt, Thomas Schaller and Gary Segura. 2017. "Latinos and the 2016 Election: How Trump Lost Latinos on Day 1" In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) Trumped: The 2016 Election that Broke All the Rules. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

15. Walker, Hannah, Gabriel Sanchez, Stephen Nuño, Matt Barreto 2017. "Race and the Right to Vote: The Modern Barrier of Voter ID Laws" In Todd Donovan (ed.) Election Rules and Reforms. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

14. Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. 2015. "Public Opinion and Reactionary Movements: From the Klan to the Tea Party" In Adam Berinsky (ed.) New Directions in Public Opinion. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge Press.

13. Barreto, Matt and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "A 'Southern Exception' in Black-Latino Attitudes?." In Anthony Affigne, Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Marion Orr (eds.) Latino Politics en Ciencia Política. New York: New York University Press.

12. Barreto, Matt, Ben Gonzalez, and Gabriel Sanchez. 2014. "Rainbow Coalition in the Golden State? Exposing Myths, Uncovering New Realities in Latino Attitudes Towards Blacks." In Josh Kun and Laura Pulido (eds.) <u>Black and Brown in Los Angeles: Beyond Conflict and Coalition</u>. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

11. Barreto, Matt, Loren Collingwood, Ben Gonzalez, and Christopher Parker. 2011. "Tea Party Politics in a Blue State: Dino Rossi and the 2010 Washington Senate Election" In William Miller and Jeremy Walling (eds.) <u>Stuck in the Middle to Lose: Tea Party Effects on 2010 U.S. Senate Elections</u>. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.

10. Jason Morin, Gabriel Sanchez and Matt Barreto. 2011. "Perceptions of Competition Between Latinos and Blacks: The Development of a Relative Measure of Inter-Group Competition." In Edward Telles, Gaspar Rivera-Salgado and Mark Sawyer (eds.) <u>Just Neighbors? Research on African American and Latino Relations in the US</u>. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

9. Grofman, Bernard, Frank Wayman and Matt Barreto. 2009. "Rethinking partisanship: Some thoughts on a unified theory." In John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (eds.) <u>Political Parties and Partisanship: Social identity and individual attitudes</u>. New York: Routledge Press.

8. Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, Luis Fraga and Fernando Guerra. 2009. "Why California Matters: How California Latinos Influence the Presidential Election." In Rodolfo de la Garza, Louis DeSipio and David Leal (eds.) <u>Beyond the Barrio: Latinos in the 2004 Elections</u>. South Bend, ID: University of Notre Dame Press.

7. Francisco Pedraza and Matt Barreto. 2008. "Exit Polls and Ethnic Diversity: How to Improve Estimates and Reduce Bias Among Minority Voters." In Wendy Alvey and Fritz Scheuren (eds.) <u>Elections and Exit Polling</u>. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons.

6. Adrian Pantoja, Matt Barreto and Richard Anderson. 2008. "Politics *y la Iglesia*: Attitudes Toward the Role of Religion in Politics Among Latino Catholics" In Michael Genovese, Kristin Hayer and Mark J. Rozell (eds.) <u>Catholics and Politics</u>. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press..

5. Barreto, Matt. 2007. "The Role of Latino Candidates in Mobilizing Latino Voters: Revisiting Latino Vote Choice." In Rodolfo Espino, David Leal and Kenneth Meier (eds.) <u>Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation</u>. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

4. Abosch, Yishaiya, Matt Barreto and Nathan Woods. 2007. "An Assessment of Racially Polarized Voting For and Against Latinos Candidates in California." In Ana Henderson (ed.) <u>Voting Rights Act Reauthorization of 2006: Perspectives on Democracy, Participation, and Power:</u>. Berkeley, CA: UC Berkeley Public Policy Press.

3. Barreto, Matt and Ricardo Ramírez. 2005. "The Race Card and California Politics: Minority Voters and Racial Cues in the 2003 Recall Election." In Shaun Bowler and Bruce Cain (eds.) <u>Clicker Politics: Essays on the California Recall</u>. Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

2. Barreto, Matt and Nathan Woods. 2005. "The Anti-Latino Political Context and its Impact on GOP Detachment and Increasing Latino Voter Turnout in Los Angeles County." In Gary Segura and Shawn Bowler (eds.) <u>Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States</u>. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

1. Pachon, Harry, Matt Barreto and Frances Marquez. 2004. "Latino Politics Comes of Age in the Golden State." In Rodolfo de la Garza and Louis DeSipio (eds.) <u>Muted Voices: Latino Politics in the 2000 Election</u>. New York: Rowman & Littlefield

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RESEARCH AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

June 2020	WK Kellogg Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$2,500,000 – 24 months*
June 2020	Casey Family Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$900,000 – 18 months*
Aug 2018	Provost Initiative for Voting Rights Research UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Chad Dunn]	*$90,000 – 24 months*
April 2018	Democracy Fund & Wellspring Philanthropic UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$200,000 – 18 months*
March 2018	AltaMed California UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$250,000 – 12 months*
Dec 2017	California Community Foundation UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative [With Sonja Diaz]	*$100,000 – 12 months*
July 2013	Ford Foundation UW Center for Democracy and Voting Rights	*$200,000 – 12 months*
April 2012	American Values Institute [With Ben Gonzalez] Racial Narratives and Public Response to Racialized Moments	*$40,000 – 3 months*
Jan 2012	American Civil Liberties Union Foundation [With Gabriel Sanchez] Voter Identification Laws in Wisconsin	*$60,000 – 6 months*
June 2011	State of California Citizens Redistricting Commission An Analysis of Racial Bloc Voting in California Elections	*$60,000 – 3 months*
Apr 2011	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? A national conference on the political and social incorporation of American Muslims	*$50,000 – 18 months*
Jan 2011	impreMedia [With Gary Segura] Latino public opinion tracking poll of voter attitudes in 2011	*$30,000 – 6 months*
Oct 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] Measuring Latino Influence in the 2010 Elections	*$128,000 – 6 months*
Oct 2010	We Are America Alliance (WAAA) [With Gary Segura] Latino and Asian American Immigrant Community Voter Study	*$79,000 – 3 months*
May 2010	National Council of La Raza (NCLR) [With Gary Segura] A Study of Latino Views Towards Arizona SB1070	*$25,000 – 3 months*
Apr 2010	Social Science Research Council (SSRC) [With Karam Dana] Muslim and American? The influence of religiosity in Muslim political incorporation	*$50,000 – 18 months*
Oct 2009	American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) [With Gary Segura] Health care reform and Latino public opinion	*$25,000 – 3 months*
Nov 2008	impreMedia & National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] 2008 National Latino Post-Election Survey, Presidential Election	*$46,000 – 3 months*

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RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS CONTINUED…

July 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) [With Gary Segura] Latino voter outreach survey – an evaluation of Obama and McCain	*$72,000 – 3 months*
June 2008	The Pew Charitable Trusts, Make Voting Work Project [with Karin MacDonald and Bonnie Glaser] Evaluating Online Voter Registration (OVR) Systems in Arizona and Washington	*$220,000 – 10 months*
April 2008	National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) & National Council of La Raza (NCLR), 2008 Latino voter messaging survey	*$95,000 – 6 months*
Dec. 2007	Research Royalty Fund, University of Washington 2008 Latino national post-election survey	*$39,000 – 12 months*
Oct. 2007	Brenan Center for Justice, New York University [with Stephen Nuño and Gabriel Sanchez] Indiana Voter Identification Study	*$40,000 – 6 months*
June 2007	National Science Foundation, Political Science Division [with Gary Segura] American National Election Study – Spanish translation and Latino oversample	*$750,000 – 24 months*
Oct. 2006	University of Washington, Vice Provost for Undergraduate Education Absentee voter study during the November 2006 election in King County, WA	*$12,000 – 6 months*
Mar. 2006	Latino Policy Coalition Public Opinion Research Grant [with Gary Segura] Awarded to the Washington Institute for the Study of Ethnicity and Race	*$40,000 – 18 months*
2005 – 2006	University of Washington, Institute for Ethnic Studies, Research Grant	*$8,000 – 12 months*
Mar. 2005	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Conduct Exit Poll during Los Angeles Mayoral Election, Mar. 8 & May 17, 2005 Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	*$30,000 – 6 months*
2004 – 2005	Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship for Minorities	*$21,000 – 12 months*
2004 – 2005	University of California President's Dissertation Fellowship	*$14,700 – 9 months*
2004 – 2005	University of California Mexico-US (UC MEXUS) Dissertation Grant	*$12,000 – 9 months*
Apr – 2004	UC Regents pre-dissertation fellowship, University of California, Irvine,	*$4,700 – 3 months*
2003 – 2004	Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Foundation Grant [with Fernando Guerra] Awarded to the Center for the Study of Los Angeles	*$20,000 – 12 months*
2002 – 2003	Ford Foundation Grant on Institutional Inequality [with Harry Pachon] Conducted longitudinal study of Prop 209 on Latino and Black college admittance Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	*$150,000 – 12 months*
2002 – 2003	Haynes Foundation Grant on Economic Development [with Louis Tornatzky] Knowledge Economy in the Inland Empire region of Southern California Awarded to Tomás Rivera Policy Institute	*$150,000 – 18 months*
2001 – 2002	William F Podlich Graduate Fellowship, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine	*$24,000 – 9 months*

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RESEARCH UNDER REVIEW/WORKING PAPERS:

Barreto, Matt, and Christopher Parker. The Great White Hope: Donald Trump, Race, and the Crisis of American Politics.
Under Contract, University of Chicago Press, *expected 2020*

Barreto, Matt and Christopher Parker. "The Great White Hope: Existential Threat and Demographic Anxiety in the Age of
Trump." Revise and Resubmit.

Barreto, Matt, Natalie Masuoka, Gabe Sanchez and Stephen El-Khatib. "Religiosity, Discrimination and Group Identity Among
Muslim Americans" Revise and Resubmit

Barreto, Matt, Gabe Sanchez and Barbara Gomez. "Latinos, Blacks, and Black Latinos: Competition, Cooperation, or
Indifference?" Revise and Resubmit

Walker, Hannah, Matt Barreto, Stephen Nuño, and Gabriel Sanchez. "A comprehensive review of access to valid photo ID and the
right to vote in America" [Under review]

Gutierrez, Angela, Angela Ocampo, Matt Barreto and Gary Segura. "From Proposition 187 to Donald Trump: New Evidence that
Anti-Immigrant Threat Mobilizes Latino Voters." [Under Review]

Collins, Jonathan, Matt Barreto, Gregory Leslie and Tye Rush. "Racial Efficacy and Voter Enthusiasm Among African Americans
Post-Obama" [Under Review]

Oskooii, Kassra, Matt Barreto, and Karam Dana. "No Sharia, No Mosque: Orientalist Notions of Islam and Intolerance Toward
Muslims in the United States" [Under Review]

Barreto, Matt, David Redlawsk and Caroline Tolbert. "Framing Barack Obama: Muslim, Christian or Black?"
[Working paper]

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EXPERT REPORTS:

- Benton, Chelan, Yakima counties signature rejection, 2022-23, *Reyes et al. v. Chilton et al.*

- San Juan County, New Mexico 2022-23, *Navajo Nation v. San Juan County, NM*

- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2022, *LULAC v. Abbott* (on behalf of Mexican American Legislative Caucus)

- Texas Statewide redistricting, 2021-22, *Brooks v. Abbott* Senate District 10 (Tarrant County)

- Baltimore County Council, 2021-22, *NAACP v. Baltimore County*, (on behalf of NAACP and ACLU-MD)

- Maryland Office of Attorney General, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting

- Pennsylvania House Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting

- Washington State Senate Democrats, 2021-22, racially polarized voting analysis as part of statewide redistricting

- City of San Jose, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of city redistricting

- Santa Clara County, 2021, racially polarized voting analysis as part of county redistricting

- Pennsylvania, 2020, Boockvar v. Trump, Expert for Intervenors, (Perkins Coie) related to voter intimidation

- Missouri, 2020, Missouri NAACP vs. State of Missouri, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail

- Georgia, 2020, Black Voters Matter vs. Raffesnsperger, Expert for plaintiffs related to vote by mail

- New York, 2019, Expert for NYAG New York v. U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 1:19-cv-08876

- North Carolina, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Carolina voter ID lawsuit, NAACP v. Cooper

- East Ramapo CSD, 2019, Expert for Plaintiffs in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, assessed polarized voting

- New York, 2018, Expert for Plaintiffs in Census Citizenship Lawsuit, New York v. U.S. Dept of Commerce (also an expert related cases: *California v. Ross* and *Kravitz v. Dept of Commerce*)

- Dallas County, TX, 2017, Expert for Defense in Section 2 VRA lawsuit, Harding v. Dallas County

- Kansas, 2016, Expert for Plaintiffs in Kansas voter registration lawsuit, Fish v. Kobach 2:16-cv-02105-JAR

- North Dakota, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in North Dakota voter ID lawsuit, Brakebill v. Jaeger 1:16-cv-00008-CSM

- Alabama, 2015, Expert for Plaintiffs in Alabama voter ID lawsuit, Birmingham Ministries v. State of Alabama 2:15-cv-02193-LSC

- Texas, 2014, Testifying Expert for Plaintiffs in Texas voter ID lawsuit, Veasey v. Perry 2:13-cv-00193

- Galveston County, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, vote dilution analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit Galveston County JP/Constable districting

- Pasadena, TX Redistricting, 2013, Expert report for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Pasadena School District

- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Testifying Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, and racially polarized voting analysis for Section 2 lawsuit within Harris County

- Pennsylvania, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Pennsylvania in voter ID lawsuit, Applewhite v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania No. 330 MD 2012

- Milwaukee County, WI, 2012, Testifying Expert for ACLU Foundation of Wisconsin in voter ID lawsuit, Frank v. Walker 2:11-cv-01128(LA)

- Orange County, FL, 2012, Consulting Expert for Latino Justice/PRLDEF, Racially polarized voting analysis in Orange County, Florida

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- Anaheim, CA, 2012, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for CVRA redistricting case Anaheim, CA

- Los Angeles County, CA, 2011, Consulting Expert for Goldstein, Demchak & Baller Legal, Racially polarized voting analysis for three redistricting cases in L.A.: Cerritos Community College Board; ABC Unified Schools; City of West Covina

- Harris County, TX Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for Dunn & Brazil, LLC, Demographic analysis, voter registration analysis, for Section 5 objection within Harris County

- Monterey County, CA Redistricting, 2011, Consulting Expert for City of Salinas, Demographic analysis, creation of alternative maps, and racially polarized Voting analysis within Monterey County

- Los Angeles County Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert for Supervisor Gloria Molina, Racially Polarized voting analysis within L.A. County

- State of California, Citizens Redistricting Commission, 2011, Consulting Expert, Racially Polarized Voting analysis throughout state of California

- Asian Pacific American Legal Center, 2011, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Asian American candidates in Los Angeles for APALC redistricting brief

- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Arnold & Porter, LLP, 2010-12, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino and Asian candidates in San Mateo County, concerning San Mateo County Board of Supervisors

- ACLU of Washington, 2010-11, preliminary analysis of Latino population patterns in Yakima, Washington, to assess ability to draw majority Latino council districts

- State of Washington, 2010-11, provided expert analysis and research for *State of Washington v. MacLean* in case regarding election misconduct and voting patterns

- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2008-10, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (6 reports issued 08-10)

- Brennan Center for Justice and Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP, 2009-10 Amicus Brief submitted to Indiana Supreme Court, *League of Women Voters v. Rokita*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower resource citizens

- State of New Mexico, consulting expert for state in *AAPD v. New Mexico*, 2008,

- District of Columbia Public Schools (DCPS), statistical consultant for survey methodology of opinion survey of parents in DCPS district (for pending suit), 2008,

- Brennan Center for Justice, 2007-08, Amicus Brief submitted to U.S. Supreme Court, and cited in Supreme Court decision, *Crawford v. Marion County*, regarding access to voter identification among minority and lower-resource citizens

- Los Angeles County Chicano Employees Association, 2002-07, Racially Polarized Voting analysis of Latino candidates in L.A. County for VRA case, concerning L.A. County Board of Supervisors redistricting (12 + reports issued during 5 years)

- Monterrey County School Board, 2007, demographic and population analysis for VRA case

- Sweetwater Union School District, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis, and demographic and population analysis for VRA case

- Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, 2007-08, Racially Polarized Voting analysis for Latino candidates, for City of Whittier city council races, for VRA case

- ACLU of Washington, 2008, preliminary analysis of voting patterns in Eastern Washington, related to electability of Latino candidates

- Nielsen Media Research, 2005-08, with Willie C. Velasquez Institute, assessed the methodology of Latino household recruitment in Nielsen sample

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TEACHING EXPERIENCE:	UCLA & UW	2005 – Present

- Minority Political Behavior (Grad Seminar)
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S. (Grad Seminar)
- Introduction to Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Advanced Empirical/Regression Analysis (Grad Seminar)
- Qualitative Research Methods (Grad Seminar)
- Political Participation & Elections (Grad Seminar)
- The Voting Rights Act (Law School seminar)
- Research methodology II (Law School Ph.D. program seminar)
- U.S. Latino Politics
- Racial and Ethnic Politics in the U.S.
- Politics of Immigration in the U.S.
- Introduction to American Government
- Public Opinion Research
- Campaigns and Elections in the U.S.
- Presidential Primary Elections

Teaching Assistant
University of California, Irvine   2002 – 2005

- Intro to American Politics (K. Tate)
- Intro to Minority Politics (L. DeSipio)
  Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2002
- Statistics and Research Methods (B. Grofman)
  Recognized as Outstanding Teaching Assistant, Winter 2003

BOARD & RESEARCH APPOINTMENTS	**Founding Partner** Barreto Segura Partners (BSP) Research, LLC	2021 - Present

Founding Partner
Latino Decisions   2007 – 2020

Board of Advisors
American National Election Study, University of Michigan   2010 – 2017

Advisory Board
States of Change: Demographics & Democracy Project   2014 – Present
CAP, AEI, Brookings Collaborative Project

Research Advisor
American Values Institute / Perception Institute   2009 – 2014

Expert Consultant
State of California, Citizens Redistricting Committee   2011 – 2012

Senior Scholar & Advisory Council
Latino Policy Coalition, San Francisco, CA   2006 – 2008

Board of Directors
CASA Latina, Seattle, WA   2006 – 2009

Faculty Research Scholar
Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, University of Southern California   1999 – 2009

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PHD STUDENTS   UCLA & UW

Committee Chair or Co-Chair
- Francisco I. Pedraza – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2009)
- Loren Collingwood – University of California, Riverside (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Betsy Cooper – Public Religion Research Institute, Washington DC (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Sergio I. Garcia-Rios – Cornell University (UW Ph.D. 2015)
- Hannah Walker – Rutgers University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Kassra Oskooii – University of Delaware (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Angela Ocampo – Arizona State University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Ayobami Laniyonu – University of Toronto (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta – Facebook Analytics (UCLA 2019)
- Tyler Reny – Claremont Graduate University (UCLA 2020)
- Adria Tinin – Environmental Policy Analyst (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)
- Angie Gutierrez – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Vivien Leung – Bucknell University (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Marcel Roman – University of Texas (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Shakari Byerly-Nelson – *in progress* (UCLA)

Committee Member
- Jessica Stewart – Emory University (UCLA Ph.D. 2018)
- Jonathan Collins – Brown University (UCLA Ph.D., 2017)
- Lisa Sanchez – University of Arizona (UNM Ph.D., 2016)
- Nazita Lajevardi – Michigan State University (UC San Diego Ph.D., 2016)
- Kiku Huckle – Pace University (UW Ph.D. 2016)
- Patrick Rock (Social Psychology) – (UCLA Ph.D. 2016)
- Raynee Gutting – Loyola Marymount University (Stony Brook Ph.D. 2015)
- Christopher Towler – Sacramento State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Benjamin F. Gonzalez – San Diego State University (UW Ph.D. 2014)
- Marcela Garcia-Castañon – San Francisco State University (UW Ph.D. 2013)
- Justin Reedy (Communications) – University of Oklahoma (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Dino Bozonelos – Cal State San Marcos (UC Riverside Ph.D. 2012)
- Brandon Bosch – University of Nebraska (UW Ph.D. 2012)
- Karam Dana (Middle East Studies) – UW Bothell (UW Ph.D. 2010)
- Joy Wilke – *in progress* (UCLA ABD)
- Erik Hanson – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Christine Slaughter – Princeton (UCLA Ph.D. 2021)
- Lauren Goldstein (Social Psychology) – *in progress* (UCLA)
- Barbara Gomez-Aguinaga – University of Nebraska (UNM Ph.D. 2020)
- Bang Quan Zheng – Florida International University (UCLA Ph.D. 2020)

Appendix E2: Resume of Michael Rios, MPP

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Los Angeles, CA 90065

EDUCATION

Master of Public Policy Degree   **June 2020**

University of California, Los Angeles
Luskin School of Public Affairs

Bachelor of Arts, Political Science   **June 2017**

University of California, Riverside
Magna Cum Laude

WORK EXPERIENCE

UCLA Voting Rights Project
UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative
- Data Scientist   Feb. 2022 - Present
- Research Analyst   June 2021 - Feb. 2022
- Policy Fellow   June 2019 - June 2021

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

WHITE PAPERS:
- Riverside County Redistricting Memo (December 2021)
- UCLA VRP Report Urges Changes to Proposed Maps in Yolo County to Preserve the Strength of the Latino Vote (November 2021)
- Georgia: COVID-19 and Language Access Litigation (November 2020)
- Voting and Infection Prevention of COVID-19 (April 2020)

POLICY REPORTS:
- From Eligibility to the Ballot Box: Examining the Racial and Ethnic Voter Turnout Gaps in the U.S. and California (September 2022)
- Vote Choice of Latino Voters in the 2020 U.S. Senate Elections (July 2022)
- UCLA VRP Report Urges Orange County to Create Its First Latino-Majority District During the 2021 Redistricting Process (November 2021)
- Latino Voters in the 2021 Recall Election (September 2021)
- Opportunities and Challenges Facing California with the 2021 California Recall (July 2021)
- Latinas Exiting the Workforce: How the Pandemic Revealed Historic Disadvantages and Heightened Economic Hardship (August 2021)
- Analysis of New York State's Absentee Ballot Laws and Process and the Immediate Need for Absentee Ballot Reform (August 2020)

EXPERT CONSULTING ON VOTING RIGHTS:
- Petteway et al. v. Galveston County, Texas et al. (March 2022)
- Maryland Statewide Redistricting (March 2022)

- Baltimore County Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, et al. v. Baltimore County, Maryland (February 2022)
- Navajo Nation, et al. v. San Juan County, New Mexico et al. (February 2022)
- Soto Palmer et al. v. Hobbs et al. (January 2022)
- Brooks et al. v. Abbott et al. (November 2021)
- Dallas County Commissioners Redistricting (November 2021)
- Harris County Commissioners Redistricting (November 2021)
- Fort Bend County Commissioners Redistricting (November 2021)
- Reyes et al. v. Chilton et al. (May 2021)
- Native American Rights Fund on access to absentee ballot dropboxes in Trump et al. vs. Cegavske (September 2020)
- Gabriel et al. v. Franklin County et al. (October 2020)
- Texas League of United Latin American Citizens v. Abbott (October 2020)